President.—Just one word. Several Members, I find, have not made their speeches and it is necessary to reserve this afternoon for the Government Members to reply. So, I think it would be a good thing if Hon'ble Members would confine their speeches this morning to 10 minutes. Otherwise, some of the Hon'ble Members, who want to speak, would not be able to do so.

General discussion on the Budget.—(*cont.*)

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—Mr. President Sir,

Cochin problem is becoming complex day by day. With its geographical limitations and limited scope for expansion, there is real difficulty felt to minister to the needs of the public in general. A wave of discontent prevails everywhere; communal tension tends to become more and more acute; cliques and anti-cliques seem to be the order of the day; internal party factions within communities themselves undermining their solidarity are not uncommon; and private grudge and personal animosities seem to gain the upper hand over sound principles and people find it difficult to rise above petty prejudices. Samples of such instances were seen even yesterday on the floor of this House; and I must sadly confess that the general tone of our discussions is taking a turn not in conformity with the dignity of this House. Fair criticism is always welcome and must be appreciated. But I cannot understand the spirit of the Hon'ble non official colleagues of mine who want to offer stringent remarks and criticisms against able, active and efficient officers charging them personally with lethargy and communalism when the reverse is the truth. I hold brief for none, but I find it rather painful to ventilate this aspect of the matter on the floor of this House that in general discussions on the budget rather than confine our attention to the most serious aspect of the financial position, we are sometimes put on the side-track and miss the main issue that has to be considered. To add to these already existing difficult problems, we have to reckon with a population with a high percentage of literacy about them and the problem of unemployment yet unsolved in these days of hard and acute economic depression. Government are faced with such difficulties and difficult problems and it does really require—and I wish to emphasise it—clean foresight, great tact and diplomacy and bold and wise statesmanship to carry on the Government to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned. It is no wonder then that any budget presented under such peculiar circumstances is liable to strong criticism or lukewarm approbation. After scanning the speech of the Hon'ble Financial Member and scrutinising the various items of expenditure provided for in the budget, it is my duty to

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bring to the notice of the Government certain important aspects which I think deserve the attention of the Government immediately.

There is one problem which I feel rather delicate to express very plainly; but I feel bound to do so. Government will ere long be confronted with a delicate and serious situation that requires proper and clever handling. Unlike other Native States, we have amidst us so many Princes with fine ability and with necessary educational and other qualifications to hold any responsible office in the administration of the State. I find we have a vast percentage of educated among the poor, middle-class, aristrocracy and the unrepresented communities. The question naturally will arise, is it possible to absorb all of them in the State service? Will not such a state of affairs have its own financial repercussions on the State? This is a problem that is even now engaging the attention of the Government; and I dare say, ere long it will be a thorny problem for Government to encounter and it is while tackling that situation that I wish to offer some definite constructive proposals for the acceptance of the Government in this affair.

I see from the Hon'ble the Finance Member's speech that the Government seem to be alive to the strain on the rural population and the future hopes are concentrated mainly on the potentialities of capital outlay works such as the Harbour and the Railway. We have now been noticing a keen agitation on the floor of this House among the non-official circles for establishment of a Debt Conciliation Board, or the Land Mortgage Bank or a Public Service Commission or a remission in the revenue and similar measures. These are all the direct result of the keen feeling that exists in the minds of the public in general that this problem of unemployment that is keen in their midst is eating into the very vitalities of the people of this State. On perusing the budget I find no provision made, for this aspect although the Hon'ble the Finance Member in his concluding speech imagines that there will be a new vista of industrial possibilities open to view which will provide a solution for the problem of unemployment and also bring about an increase in national wealth. That is no doubt a prospective feature the immediate realisation of which we are not likely to have in the near future. Hence, from what I have been able to gather from some literature that has fallen into my hands, I wish to place some constructive proposals to the Government. I find from the Hon'ble Finance Member's speech that provision was made for rural reconstruction in the current year's expenses and I think that the Government should depart from

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its hoary tradition and convention and boldly launch on a scheme of rural reconstruction which alone will satisfy the rural needs of the present day public of the Cochin State. The expression Rural reconstruction sounds simple and the very many experiments that are to be carried on to make that a fruition and success are very many. In this connection I wish to say that I had the privilege of associating myself with the deliberations of the St. Thomas College Anniversary celebration last year when this subject was discussed by me in all its details, when the Diwan of the State happened to preside and some of the officers including the Registrar of Village Panchayats were present at the meeting. There is no sufficient time for me to enter into the details of the programme to be worked thereunder; but I am sure that if our State will follow a 5 year's plan or a scheme of rural reconstruction based more or less on the well-known plans adumbrated on the co-operative basis by the late Sir Austosh Mookerjee of the Calcutta University and now put into practical experience in the Punjab, Bengal and in Bombay, that will to a very great extent ameliorate the conditions of the people of our State and bring much more satisfaction than the present satisfaction that is aimed at by the development of the Railway and the Harbour. That I think, is a scheme that ought not to be shelved by the Government and which if put into practical experience is sure to have its own advantage in the State. As I have no time to enter into the details and as I understand that the Panchayat Registrar has also made some definite proposals in connection with that, I would only urge upon the attention of the Government that it is a matter which requires the earliest consideration by the Government and not a postponement as has been done in this budget. This question of rural reconstruction will naturally take us on to industrial regeneration. That is the second aspect on which I think the Government have not bestowed the serious attention that it deserves.

As you are all aware, in the recent Conference held in Delhi of the Directors of Industries in the various Presidencies in India, it has been unanimously declared that India's salvation rests upon its industrial regeneration and that is no doubt true, considering the case of Cochin as well. The possibilities of expansion on the field of agriculture or rather, staple products in our State have reached the maximum and as the Hon'ble Finance Member himself remarks in his speech that all normal sources of revenue and taxation have been tapped to the point of exhaustion. Fresh avenues and fresh fields ought to be explored, investigated and found out by a department of even experts if necessary. Government will certainly be not throwing good

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money after bad things, if having regard to the progress of the State, they appoint some experts to find out the various possibilities for industrial enterprises in the State at present.

Sir, in this connection, I wish to draw the attention of this House to a notable industry that is now adjacent to our parts, namely, the cement industry that is now carried on in the Coimbatore District at the place called Madukkarai. Years ago when a European gentleman was going about those hills and rocks, investigating people took him for a mad man. Years of his efforts proved successful in the establishment of a limited concern and I am told reliably that the cement industry started in Madukkarai will be one of the foremost Industries in India. Similar possibilities there may be in the State and I am going to draw the attention of the Government to more examples. As we find in the budget presented by the Hon'ble Member, there is already a provision made for the stoneware factory and some minor industries. But, there are possibilities for the increase of the rubber industry and for investigating into further industries like paper manufacture and with regard to minerals.

Now, my Hon'ble colleagues coming as I do from my own constituency, when I speak of the possibility of gold being discovered in my constituency in Nemmara, it will be rather a shock to you. Years ago in a well that was being dug at Nemmara, some stones were found glittering like gold and I remember during those student days of mine Government officers taking those stones and sending them for chemical analysis. Recently a friend of mine who had some training in matters like this and who was for some time serving in the Forest Department in British Service happened to remind me that there are possibilities of further investigation in that matter if only the Government would choose to spend a few rupees on that. Not that I am sure that we can get gold from Nemmara or from anywhere else, but I say there is possibility for further investigation in that matter and if it is ultimately found that some mineral, whether it is gold or any other mineral, can be found out, that will augment the industrial development of our State as well. I commend to the attention of the Government this aspect also *viz.*, that the attention of the Government hereafter directed more seriously to the industrial development. With the development of the Railway and the Harbour, there is no doubt that Cochin must play a foremost part among the nations of the world and Cochin as an industrial centre will be looked upon with an envious eye by the neighbouring sister States and the Paramount Power. Because of its limitations there are no possibilities for its expansion and within the limited possibilities that are avail-

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able, I think Government should investigate whether there are any possibilities for further expansion of industries.

While considering this question of rural re-construction and industrial regeneration or development, I commend to the attention of the Government one more aspect, *viz.* that, since some of the Hon'ble Members the other day drew the attention of the Government—that our money is lying on a low rate of interest in some banks, I wish that the State will encourage such of the banks that are here and in which our people stand to gain, provided their stability and their security are beyond question. That will also help the development of our own banking activities here.

The third aspect on which I wish to speak is this. The first and foremost consideration that will be attached to an important Native State will be the stability of the administration of Justice. You see now that Cochin will be dragged into the future Federation of India and with its immense possibilities with the development of the Railway and Harbour, Cochin will certainly have its prominent part in the Federation. I have been for more than 3 years agitating for the amendment of our Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes and the codification of our laws and I must express my regret here before this open Assembly that, either due to the indifference of the department concerned or perhaps they think that the present state of affairs may continue for some time more, nothing tangible has been done so far.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—The work is being rapidly done.

Mr. K. G. Nair.—I am thankful to the Hon'ble Member for the information. But this has been repeated more than once. I only urge that the rapidity should be such a rapidity that it will have its fruit before the life of this Council is over. When we are playing our part in the federation and when we are said to administer laws following the codes of procedure framed 50 years ago, and when we are not prepared to bring our laws up-to-date with the modern tendencies and environments, I think it is rather not good to place such laws on our statute. I think it would be better to see that the entire Statute Book is thoroughly overhauled by introducing new legislation in conformity with modern day requirements.

One word I have to say while adverting to this Department of Law and Justice. More than one Hon'ble Member referred and commented adversely yesterday on the recent appointment made in the Chief Court and I beg to be excused for this diversion because at the outset I have stated that I am not going to

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bring personalities into this budget discussion; but I am forced to do it because I would certainly congratulate Government in the recent appointment of a temporary Judge in the Cochin Chief Court. A gentleman of established character and reputation whose advocacy has been undisputed throughout the West Coast is now occupying a seat in the Cochin Bench and I am surprised to see that the appointment of a person who is a son of the soil with vested interests in the State has led to discontent among the members of the Bar and the so-called loyal citizens of the State. I think it is more imaginary than real. I have further to say that there must certainly be efficiency maintained in the judiciary and the present discontent amongst judicial officers including the Magistrates and Munsiffs especially those who are old in the field whose claims are overlooked by the new recruitment of people above their heads ought to engage the attention of Government so as to make the administration of justice as far as possible a fair success that it deserves to be. I do not wish to enter into further details. I can only assure that if the Government will proceed on the right lines and see that the discontent among the officers is eradicated as early as possible that will be conducive to a better state of affairs in the State regarding the administration of justice.

Sir, you have been pleased to say that each Hon'ble Member can take 10 minutes and as I am afraid I have exceeded that time by 5 minutes I do not wish to comment upon or refer to the various other items of expenditure, because there are many cut motions which I find have been tabled by most of my Hon'ble colleagues, and when discussions on those cut motions come up that will be the proper time to enter into details.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—Sir, may I make a personal explanation regarding Qt. No. 120 ?

President.—Yes,

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—The allegation made by the Hon'ble Member for Cranganur that a portion of question No. 120 has been taken off or omitted is absolutely unfounded. Here is the file containing his original question which the Hon'ble Member may compare with the printed one placed before the House. Not even a comma has been left out. Word for word is here.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—I will look to it afterwards.

President.—The Hon'ble Member has levelled a charge against the Secretary, and when that charge is found to be unfounded, the Hon'ble Member should be courteous enough to withdraw that allegation.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—As I said, Sir, the reference has been made to the other question regarding the reservation of the posts of Sub-Assistant Surgeons to L. M. P. s. This question closely followed that question.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

President.—You stated that some part of the question has been omitted.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—I am sorry for that statement. An undertaking has been given by the Government that questions interrelated will not be split up. That has not been given effect to.

President.—We need not waste time on that. You will communicate to the Secretary.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എം. ഇബ്രാഹിം.—എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിൽ ഇന്നത്തെ, കൊച്ചീരാജ്യകാര്യത്തിൽ ഏറ്റവും പ്രധാനമായിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു സംഗതി അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടി ജയിൽബന്ധനം അനുഭവിക്കുന്ന മി: ചെറിയാൻ മാഞ്ഞൂരാന്റെ സംഗതിയാണ്. അതിനെ അനുവദിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്ന ഒരു ബഞ്ചറിനെ അനുമോദിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലെന്നാണ് ആദ്യമായി എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളത്.

അഭിപ്രായസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം പൌരന്മാർക്ക് ആവശ്യമായ ഏറ്റവും പ്രാഥമികമായ ഒരു അവകാശമാണെന്നാണ് ഗവൺമെൻറിൽ നിന്നും ദയവായി ആലോചിക്കേണ്ടത്. ഉത്തരവാദിതപ്രഭരണമെന്നോ പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടവകാശമെന്നോ സ്റ്റേറ്റു വകയായുള്ള വ്യവസായപോഷണമെന്നോ ഉള്ള ആവശ്യങ്ങളേക്കാൾ പൌരന്മാരുടെ ക്ഷേമത്തിനും സുഖത്തിനും അവരുടെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിനും ഏറ്റവും അത്യാവശ്യമായ ഒരു സംഗതിയാണ് അഭിപ്രായസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം. അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടി ഒരാളെ ജയിലിൽ ബന്ധിക്കുകയെന്നുള്ളത് ഒരു പഴഞ്ചൻസമ്പ്രദായമാണെന്നു ഗവൺമെൻറു ധരിക്കണം. മനുഷ്യരുടെ ബോധത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള വളർച്ചയ്ക്ക് ഇതിനു ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരു നൂറാണ്ടുകാലത്തെ പഴക്കമുണ്ടെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. അഭിപ്രായത്തിനു വേണ്ടി ഒരാളെ ജയിലിൽ ബന്ധിക്കുക എന്നുള്ളതു കേവലം അപരിഷ്കൃതമായ ഒരു സമ്പ്രദായമാണ്. അക്രമങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യുന്നവരെ പോലും, അപഹരണങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യുന്നവരെപോലും ജയിലിൽ ഇടുകയെന്നുള്ളതു ഒരു ശാസ്ത്രീയമല്ലാത്ത സമ്പ്രദായമാണെന്നു ഹൃദയമുള്ളവരും സ്നേഹമുള്ളവരും ബുദ്ധിയുള്ളവരും വാദിക്കുന്ന ഇക്കാലത്തു് അത്മാർത്ഥമായ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളെ പ്രകാശിപ്പിച്ച ഒരാളെ ജയിലിൽ വയ്ക്കുകയെന്നുള്ളതു ലോകം വലിയ ഒരു സാഹസമാണ്. അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ ആത്മാർത്ഥമായിട്ടു പറയുന്നവരെ ജയിൽശിക്ഷ അനുഭവിപ്പിക്കുകയെന്നുള്ളതു് ഇന്നത്തെ പരിഷ്കൃതമായ രാജ്യമീമാംസയ്ക്കു എതിരാണ്; ആ തത്വം ആണ നാമെല്ലാം ധരിക്കേണ്ടത്. ഒരു സംഗതിയിൽ ഒരാൾക്കും അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നു എനിയ്ക്കു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. അതായതു് അഭിപ്രായം പറയുന്ന ഒരാളെ ജയിലിൽ ഇടുകയെന്നുള്ളതു തീർച്ചയായും സഹജീവികളോടു ചെയ്യുന്ന വലിയ ഒരു അക്രമമാണെന്നുള്ളതു്. ഒരാളെ മറയിൽ അടച്ചുപൂട്ടുന്നതു പ്രാചീനഭിഷ്വായിൽ ഒരു ക്രൂരതയാണ്; ഈ ക്രൂരതയെ നീതീകരിക്കുന്നതു് അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ രാജ്യക്ഷേമത്തിനു എതിരാ

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യിട്ടുപയോഗിച്ചു എന്ന കാരണത്തിന്മേലാണല്ലൊ; ഇതിൽ ഒരു വലിയ യുക്തിഹീനതയുണ്ട്.

ആ യുക്തിഹീനതക്കു് ഒരു ഉദാഹരണം പറയാം. ചിക്കൻ പോക്സ് (പോളം) എന്ന ദീനം നാട്ടിൽനിന്നും തീരെ ബഹിഷ്കരിക്കുവാൻ ആ ദീനം വരുന്നവരെയെല്ലാം കരുപ്പുദീനം കുത്തിവെച്ചു കൊല്ലുമെന്നു് ഒരു നിയമം നടപ്പാക്കുന്നതുപോലെയാണു് അഭിപ്രായസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തെ ഇല്ലാതാക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടി ആളുകളെ ജയിലിൽ ഇടുകയെന്നുള്ള നിയമം. ഒരാളുടെ അഭിപ്രായപ്രകടനം മൂലം ചില വിഷമങ്ങളെല്ലാം നാട്ടിൽ ഉണ്ടായി എന്നുതന്നെയിരിക്കട്ടെ. എന്നിരുന്നാലും ആ ആശംക തോന്നുന്ന അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ പറയുന്നതിനു് അയാളെ ജയിൽശിക്ഷ അനുഭവിപ്പിക്കുക എന്നുള്ളതു് ഏറ്റവും അത്ഥശൂന്യവും ക്രൂരവുമായിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു പ്രവൃത്തിയാണെന്നേ ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നുള്ളൂ. അത്മാത്ഥമായ അഭിപ്രായം പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് നാട്ടിൽ ഉപദ്രവങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാകും എന്നുള്ള ഭാഗംതന്നെ ഞാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നില്ല. അങ്ങിനെ ഉപദ്രവം ഉണ്ടായാലും അതിലേയ്ക്കു് ഒരു പ്രതിവിധി നേടുവാൻ വേണ്ടി പറയുന്ന ആളെ ജയിലിൽ ഇടുക എന്നുള്ള സമ്പ്രദായം മുമ്പു പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ വസൂരികൊണ്ടു കൊല്ലുമെന്നു ഭീഷണിപ്പെടുത്തി പോളത്തെ ജയിക്കുന്നതിനു തുല്യമാണ്എന്നു ഗവൺമെൻറു ധരിക്കണം. ഒരു ചെറിയ ദോഷത്തെ ഇല്ലായ്മ ചെയ്യുന്നതിനു വേണ്ടി അതിലും അധികം ദോഷമുള്ള ഒരു ക്രൂരതയാണു് നിങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതു്; ഇതാണു് ഇതിൽ അന്തർലീനമായിരിക്കുന്ന തത്വം. എന്നാൽ ഗവൺമെൻറിന്റെ സംരക്ഷണത്തിനും നിലനില്പിനും വേണ്ടി ഞങ്ങൾക്കു് എന്തെങ്കിലും ചെയ്യണ്ടേ എന്നു നിങ്ങൾ പറയുമായിരിക്കാം. അതിനും ഒരു സമാധാനം പറയാം. ഈ സംഗതിയിൽ ഗവൺമെൻറിന്റെ സംരക്ഷണത്തിനു വേണ്ടി അവർക്കു് ഒരു എതിർപ്രചരണംകൊണ്ടു് എതിർക്കാമെന്നാണു്ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. മിസ്റ്റർ ചെറിയാൻ മാഞ്ഞൂരാനോ വേറെ ആളുകളോ രാജ്യത്തിനു് അനർത്ഥകരങ്ങളായ വല്ല അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളേയും അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളേയും പ്രചരിപ്പിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതിനെതിരായിട്ടുള്ള ഒരഭിപ്രായം ജനങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടാകത്തക്കവിധത്തിൽ ഒരു എതിർപ്രചരണംകൊണ്ടു് പരസ്യമായി ജനങ്ങളെ മനസ്സിലാക്കട്ടെ, എന്നാണു് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. മിസ്റ്റർ ചെറിയാൻമാഞ്ഞൂരാൻ ഇന്നിന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ രാജ്യക്ഷേമത്തിനു് വിഘ്നം ഉണ്ടാക്കി; ഇന്നിന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ജനങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ ഒരു മത്സരം ഉണ്ടാക്കി; എന്നൊക്കെ നിങ്ങൾക്കും പൊതുജനങ്ങളെ മനസ്സിലാക്കുന്നതിനു് ഇത്തരം നല്ല വാദ്യകളെടുത്താൽ പിന്നെ അയാളെ അനുകൂലിക്കുവാൻ ആളുണ്ടാകയില്ലല്ലൊ. അഥവാ ഒരാൾ രാജ്യത്തിൽ കുഴപ്പങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കുകയൊ രാജദ്രോഹം പ്രസംഗിക്കയൊ മറ്റൊരു ചെയ്താലും അയാളെ ജയിലിൽ വയ്ക്കാതെ, അയാളുടെ പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾക്കെതിരായ ഒരു പ്രസംഗപ്രബന്ധപ്രചരണം നടത്തി ഗവ:

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

മ്മെൻറിൻെറ സംരക്ഷണത്തെ സുരക്ഷിതമാക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ നിങ്ങളെ ധരിപ്പിക്കുന്നത്. ഇപ്രകാരമുള്ള ഏതാർപ്പാചരണംകൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തു സ്വീകരിക്കുന്നതിനു് എന്താണ് വിഷമം? വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം അധികമായ രാജ്യമാണല്ലൊ ഇതു്. ജയിലിൽ ഇടുക, രക്ഷിക്കുക എന്നതെല്ലാം പരിഷ്കൃതമാനസന്മാരാലും വിദ്വാന്മാരാലും നിറഞ്ഞതെന്നു നിങ്ങൾതന്നെ വമ്പു പറയുന്ന ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ അനാവശ്യമാണെന്നും പരിഷ്കൃതമായ പരിപാകപതയെ ദുഷ്പമാനിക്കുമാത്രമായിരിക്കും അതിൻെറ ഫലമെന്നും ഞാൻ ഗവർമ്മെൻറിനോടു പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഒരാൾ തന്മാത്മമായി വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന സംഗതികൾ പുറത്തു പറയുവാൻ അനുവദിക്കുകയെന്നുള്ളതാണ് അഭിപ്രായസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിൻെറ പരമമായ തത്വം എന്നു ഞാൻ മുമ്പു പറഞ്ഞുകഴിഞ്ഞു. ആ അഭിപ്രായസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം മൂലമുള്ള അവകാശം വാസ്തവമല്ലാത്ത സംഗതികൾകൂടി പറയുവാൻ ഒരാൾക്കു അനുവാദം നൽകുന്നുണ്ടെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ വാദിക്കുന്നത്.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Sir, without interruption, I would like to say a few words by way of explanation. The gentleman in question was ordered to be bound over for sedition which is an offence under the Penal Code. He was not bound over under anytemporary legislation. And every civilised State punishes offenders for sedition. No Government can be carried on if sedition isallowed to be freely preached.

Mr. K. M.Ibrahim.—My suggestion is to meet sedition by counter ptopaganda. — ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു അവാസ്തവമായുള്ള സംഗതികൾപോലും പുറത്തു പറയുവാനുള്ള അഭിപ്രായസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം അനുവദിക്കണമെന്നാണ്. ഞാൻ ഇവിടെനിന്നു പ്രസംഗിക്കുമ്പോൾ പുറത്തു മിറത്തു് തീ മഴ പെയ്യുന്നു എന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ അങ്ങിനെ തീ മഴ പെയ്യുന്നില്ലെന്നു തെളിയിക്കുവാൻ പുറപ്പെടുന്നതിനു പകരം എന്നെ അടിക്കുവാനും തെറിപറവാനും ഒരു മുറിയിൽ ഇട്ടു പൂട്ടുവാനും നിങ്ങൾ മുതിരുന്നപക്ഷം നിങ്ങൾക്കും ഭ്രാന്തു് എന്നല്ലേ വരികയുള്ളു? "ഹേ സഹോദരാ, അങ്ങിനെയൊന്നുമല്ല; അവിടെ തീ മഴ പെയ്യുന്നില്ല. തീ മഴ പെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അവിടെനിന്നാൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ മുണ്ടു കരിയണം; കോട്ടു കരിയണം; ഷർട്ടു കരിയണം; അങ്ങിനെ കരിയാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു നിങ്ങൾ ഇതു വെറുതെ പറഞ്ഞതാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഈ അഭിപ്രായത്തിൽനിന്നും നിങ്ങൾ വിരമിക്കണം" എന്നല്ലേ ബുദ്ധിമാന്മാരായ നിങ്ങൾ എന്നെ ഉണർത്തിക്കേണ്ടതു്? ഇതിനേയാണ് ഞാൻ എതിർപ്രചരണം എന്നു വിളിക്കുന്നതു്. അഭിപ്രായസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിനു വേണ്ടി പച്ച നുണകൂടി പറയുവാൻ അനുവദിക്കണ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

മെന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ ആത്മാർത്ഥമായി ഒരാൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന പല മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളെ പറയുവാൻ പാടില്ലെന്നും പറഞ്ഞാൽ അയാളെ ശിക്ഷിക്കുമെന്നും ഉള്ളതിൽ അന്തർലീനമായ പിഴച്ച യുക്തിയുടെ ഭയങ്കരതയെക്കുറിച്ചു ഞാൻ എന്തു പറയട്ടെ. ഇതിനു പലയിടത്തും അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടി മർദ്ദനങ്ങൾ നടക്കുന്നുണ്ടല്ലെ എന്നു ചോദിക്കുമായിരിക്കാം. അതിന്റെ പ്രതിധ്വനിയല്ലേ നിയമമെമ്പാടും ഇടയിൽകയറിയുള്ള ചോദ്യമെന്നും ഞാൻ സംശയിക്കുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ മനസ്സിൽ ജർമ്മനിയിൽ നടക്കുന്ന ഹിറ്റ്ലർ മർദ്ദനമായിരിക്കാം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നതു്.

അതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഞാൻ ഒരു സംഗതി ഇവിടെ പറയാം. അവിടെ (ജർമ്മനിയിൽ) നടക്കുന്നതു് ജനങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടി ജനങ്ങളാൽ ഭരിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഒരു ജനാധിപത്യഭരണമാണു്. എന്നാലും അവിടെ ചെയ്യുന്ന മർദ്ദനം ഞാൻ നീതീകരിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഒരു ന്യൂനപക്ഷത്തിനു വേണ്ടി ഒരു ന്യൂനപക്ഷത്താൽ ഭരിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഇവിടത്തെ ന്യൂനപക്ഷഗവർമ്മെൻറിന്റെ മർദ്ദനവും ജർമ്മൻ മർദ്ദനവും തമ്മിൽ എന്തു സാമ്യമാണുള്ളതു? വിശേഷിച്ചും മറ്റുള്ള ഗവർമ്മെൻറുകൾ എന്തെങ്കിലും തെറ്റുകൾ ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ആ തെറ്റു് നമുക്കും ചെയ്യാമോ എന്നുള്ള കാര്യം ഗവർമ്മെൻറു ഭയവായി ആലോചിക്കണം. ബ്രിട്ടീഷിന്ത്യയിൽതന്നെ ചിലയിടങ്ങളിൽ അഭിപ്രായ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തെ ആദരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു വളരെ പ്രബലമായ എതിരിടലിനെക്കുടിയും അവർ സമ്മതിച്ചുകൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഇയ്യിടെതന്നെ കല്ക്കത്തായിൽ ഒരു യുവാവു് ഏറ്റവും പ്രക്ഷോഭകരമായി പ്രസംഗിച്ചു. പ്രസംഗത്തിന്റെ ചുരുക്കം ഇതാണു്.— ബ്രിട്ടീഷു് ആധിപത്യത്തിലും നാട്ടുരാജാക്കന്മാരിലും അവിടത്തെ ജന്മികളിലും അടിച്ചിതമായിക്കിടക്കുന്ന പ്രതികതാല്പര്യങ്ങളേയും അവകാശങ്ങളേയും തച്ചുടച്ചു് പരിഷ്കൃതമായ ഒരു കർഷകത്തൊഴിലാളിഭരണം സ്ഥാപിക്കണമെന്നാണു് അദ്ദേഹം പ്രസംഗിച്ചതു്. പോലീസുകാർ വന്നു അദ്ദേഹത്തെ പിടിച്ചു മജിസ്ട്രേട്ടിന്റെ മുമ്പിൽ കൊണ്ടുപോയി. ആ യുവാവു് ആത്മാർത്ഥമായിട്ടു് വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന സംഗതികളായതുകൊണ്ടു് രാജ്യക്ഷേമത്തിനുപയുക്തമായ വിമർശനം എന്ന ന്യായത്തിന്മേൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തെ നിരപരാധിയാക്കി വിട്ടയക്കയാണു് പരിഷ്കൃതമാനസനായ കല്ക്കട്ടാ പ്രസിഡൻസിമജിസ്ട്രേട്ട ഈ സംഗതിയിൽ ചെയ്തതു്. രാജ്യക്ഷേമത്തിനു വേണ്ടി ഇത്ര കടുത്ത സംഗതികൾകൂടി പറയാമെന്നു് നമ്മുടെ ഏറ്റവും അടുത്തിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ ഇന്ത്യയിലുള്ള ഒരു രാജ്യത്തു് വിധിയുണ്ടായിരിയ്ക്കെ നിസ്സാരമായി ചിലപദപ്രയോഗങ്ങളിൽ വന്നിട്ടുള്ള കനപ്പിന്റെ പേരിൽ ഒരു സഹജീവിയെ വിലങ്ങുവെക്കുവാനും ജയിലിൽ പാർപ്പിക്കുവാനുമാണു് നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു പുറപ്പെ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു്. മി. ചെറിയാൻ മാഞ്ഞൂരാൻ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ള ഭാഗങ്ങളിൽ വ്യത്യാസങ്ങളും വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നോ അബദ്ധം പിണഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നോ ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നില്ല. ''ഞാൻ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിനെ ഒന്നു കാണുകയില്ല'' എന്നല്ലാതെ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ താല്പര്യങ്ങളേയും അധികാരത്തേയും നശിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നു് മി. ചെറിയാൻ പറഞ്ഞതായി പോലീസിനും ആവലാതിയില്ലല്ലൊ. ഈ രണ്ടും തമ്മിൽ ഉത്തരധ്രുവത്തിനും ദക്ഷിണധ്രുവത്തിനും തമ്മിൽ എത്ര വ്യത്യാസമുണ്ടോ അത്രയും വ്യത്യാസമുണ്ടു്. മി. ചെറിയാൻ ചെയ്ത നിസ്സാരമായ പ്രസ്താവങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടി ഗവൺമെൻറു ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള പ്രതികാരങ്ങളുടെ യുക്തിഹീനതയേയും തോതില്ലായ്മയേയും കുറിച്ചു് നിങ്ങൾ വീണ്ടും വീണ്ടും ചിന്തിക്കണമെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്.

ഇനി വേറൊരു ഉദാഹരണം പറയാം. കല്ക്കത്തായിൽ കാൺഗ്രസ്സു് കൂടരുതു് എന്നു് ആർഡിനൻസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് നിരോധിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. എന്നിട്ടും അവിടെ കാൺഗ്രസ്സ് കൂടി. ആ അവസരത്തിൽ പോലീസുകാർ വന്നു് അവരെ പിടിച്ചു മർദ്ദിച്ചു. പണ്ഡിതമാളവ്യ അതിനെക്കുറിച്ചു പത്രങ്ങളിലും പ്രസംഗങ്ങളിലും പരസ്യമായി പ്രസ്താവിക്കയുണ്ടായി. ബ്രിട്ടീഷു് പാർലമെൻറിലും അതിനെക്കുറിച്ചു ചോദ്യമുണ്ടായി. പണ്ഡിതമാളവ്യയുടെ പ്രസ്താവങ്ങൾ ശരിയാണൊ എന്നു് ഒരു പാർലമെൻറുമെമ്പർ ചോദിച്ചു. വാസ്തവമല്ലെന്നാണു് അവിടത്തെ ഹോം മിനിസ്റ്ററുടെ മറുപടി. എന്നാൽ ഗവൺമെൻറിൻെറ പേരിൽ മനഃപൂർവ്വമായി നുണകളുണ്ടാക്കി ഗവൺമെൻറിനെക്കുറിച്ചു ജനങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള ബഹുമാനവും വിലയും കെടുത്തിയ പണ്ഡിതമാളവ്യയുടെ മേൽ എന്തുകൊണ്ടു ക്രിമിനലായി നടപടി നടത്തുന്നില്ലെന്നു് ചോദിച്ചപ്പോൾ ഗവൺമെൻറു പറഞ്ഞതു് ''ഞങ്ങൾ പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെ വിവേകത്തിൽ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. അവർ സത്യംഅറിഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളും. പോരാത്തതു ഞങ്ങൾ പ്രചരിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളാം. ആ പ്രചരണം ശിക്ഷയേക്കാൾ ശക്തിപൂർവ്വമായിരിക്കും. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഞങ്ങൾ മാളവ്യയെ പിടിക്കുന്നില്ല, ശിക്ഷിക്കുന്നില്ല'' എന്നാണു്. ഇതാണു് എതിർപ്രചരണമെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെ ന്യായബുദ്ധിയിലും യുക്തിയിലും വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന പരിഷ്കൃതമായ ഒരു മനഃസ്ഥിതിയാണു് ഇതു്. ഈ മനഃസ്ഥിതിയെ നിങ്ങളും സ്വീകരിക്കണമെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നതു്.

ഇനി വേറെ ഒരു സംഗതികൂടി പറയാം. എല്ലാ കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കും ബ്രിട്ടീഷു് ഗവൺമെൻറിനെയാണല്ലൊ നാം മാതൃകയാക്കി പറയാറുള്ളതു്. ഇയ്യിടെ തൊഴിലില്ലാത്ത ഒരു പട്ടിണിപ്പട്ടാളം ഒരു പ്രദർശനത്തിനു പോണ നാട്ടിൽ തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മയുണ്ടെന്നു ഗവൺമെൻറിനെ അറിയിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടി ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടിലെ റോഡുക

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ളിൽകൂടി ഘോഷയാത്രയായി പോവുകയുണ്ടായി. അങ്ങിനെ നടന്നുകൊണ്ടിരിയ്ക്കുമ്പോൾ ആ പട്ടിണിപട്ടാളം പ്രധാനമന്ത്രിയുടെ വീട്ടിനു അരികിൽകൂടി പോയി. അവരിൽ ഒരു ഗ്രുതപ്പം കെട്ട ചെക്കൻ ഒരു കല്ലെടുത്തെറിഞ്ഞു. പ്രധാനമന്ത്രി ഇരുന്നിരുന്ന മുറിയിലെ ജനാലയുടെ കണ്ണാടി ആ ഏറുമൂലം ഉടഞ്ഞു. ഉടനെ പോലീസുകാർ വന്നു് അയാളെ പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുപോയി. അവസാനം അയാളെ വെറുതെവിട്ടയച്ചുവെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ പത്രത്തിൽ വായിച്ചതു്. നേരെമറിച്ചു് ഇവിടെയാണു് കൊട്ടാരത്തിലോ ഭിവാൻജിയവർകളുടെ കെട്ടിടത്തിലോ കല്ലെറിഞ്ഞതെങ്കിൽ എന്താണുണ്ടാകുന്നതെന്നു് കണ്ടുതന്നെ അറിയണം.

ഇപ്രകാരം പരിഷ്കൃതമായ നിലയിലായിരിയ്ക്കണം ഇവിടത്തെ ഗവൺമെൻറും ഭരിയ്ക്കേണ്ടതെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ ഈ ഉദാഹരണങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു ഉൽബോധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു്.

President.— You will please contine your remarks in another 2 minutes.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എം. ഇബ്രാഹിം.— എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ള സംഗതികൾ സംഗ്രഹിച്ചു പറയാമെന്നു വിചാരിയ്ക്കുന്നു. നമ്മുടെ നാട്ടുകാരിൽ ഒരു വലിയ ഭ്രൂരിപക്ഷം ദാരിദ്ര്യത്തിലും പട്ടിണിയിലും കിടന്നു് അവശപ്പെടുകയും ചില ന്യൂനപക്ഷങ്ങൾ മാത്രം എല്ലാ സുഖങ്ങളിലും കളിച്ചു് ആറാടുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നതു് ഇല്ലാതാക്കണം. എല്ലാവരും സുഖിക്കണം. സന്ദർഭോചിത്യം അങ്ങും ഉണ്ടാവാൻ പാടില്ല. എന്റെ നാട്ടുകാരിൽ ഒരാൾപോലും തിന്നുവാനൊ കുടിക്കുവാനൊ ഉടുക്കുവാനൊ കിടക്കുവാനൊ ഇല്ലാതെ വിഷമിക്കുന്ന ഉസ്ഥിതിയെ ഞാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നതല്ല. നമ്മുടെ ഭരണഘടനയും ഭരണാദർശങ്ങളും മാറാതെ ഭ്രൂരിപക്ഷത്തിന്റെ നിരവധി ദുഃഖങ്ങൾക്കു ശമനം കിട്ടുന്നതല്ല. ഇതിനെല്ലാം സമാധാനമായി നമ്മുടെ ഗവൺമെൻറിനു പറവാനുള്ളതു് എന്താണു് "ക്ഷമിക്കുക—കാണാം". ഈ ക്ഷമാപ്രസംഗം കേൾക്കുമ്പോൾ എനിയ്ക്കു കുമാരനാശാന്റെ "കരുണ" എന്ന കവിതയാണു് ഓർമ്മവരുന്നതു്. വാസവദത്തയ്ക്കു് ഉപഗുപ്തനെ ഒന്നു കിട്ടിയാൽ കൊള്ളാമെന്നു് ആഗ്രഹമുണ്ടായിട്ടു് പല പ്രാവശ്യവും അവനെ വിളിപ്പിച്ചു; എന്നിട്ടും അവൻ വരുന്നില്ല. വരുവാൻ സമയമായില്ലെന്നാണു് അവൻ എപ്പോഴും സഖിയോടു് പറഞ്ഞയക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ സമാധാനം കേട്ടുകേട്ടു മുഷിഞ്ഞ വാസവദത്ത പറയുന്നു. "സമയമായില്ലപോലും സമയമായില്ലപോലും, ക്ഷമയെന്റെ ഹൃദയത്തിലൊഴിഞ്ഞു തോഴി". അതുപോലെ ഞങ്ങളുടെ ഹൃദയത്തിലും ക്ഷമ തീരെ ഒഴിഞ്ഞുപോയി എന്നു് ഗവൺമെൻറു മനസ്സിലാക്കണം.

ഇവിടത്തെ കൂലിവേലക്കാരുടെ സ്ഥിതിയെപ്പറ്റി ഗവൺമെൻറിനു നല്ലവണ്ണം മനസ്സിലായിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു സംഗതിയാണു്. പത്തും പന്ത്രണ്ടും മണിക്കൂർ വേല ചെയ്തു് രണ്ടും മൂന്നും അണ കൂലി

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

കിട്ടുന്ന ഒരു സമ്പ്രദായം ഈ നാട്ടിലുണ്ടെന്നു് അവർതന്നെ പണ്ടേ സമ്മതിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതിനെ നിയന്ത്രിക്കുന്നതിനു് ഒരു നിയമം കൊണ്ടുവരാമെന്നു കഴിഞ്ഞ ബഡ്ജറ്റുയോഗത്തിൽ—ഒരു കൊല്ലം മുമ്പു—വാഗ്ദത്തം ചെയ്യുകയും ഉണ്ടായല്ലൊ. എന്നിരുന്നിട്ടും ഇതിലേയ്ക്കു് ഒരു ഉലക്കയുടെ മൂട്ടം നിങ്ങൾക്കു ഇതുവരെ ചെയ്യുവാൻ സാധിച്ചില്ലല്ലൊ! നാട്ടുകാർക്കു രക്ഷ കിട്ടണമെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ വ്യവസ്തുതങ്ങളായ കൃഷി—കൈത്തൊഴിൽ യന്ത്രീകരണപ്രസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ സർക്കാരുകയായി ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കണമെന്നു് ഞാൻ പല പ്രാവശ്യം ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞുകഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്. വേലക്കാരെ രക്ഷിക്കണമെന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ ഗവർമ്മെൻറു് ഇവിടെ പറയാറുള്ള വിചിത്രമായ മറുപടികളോർക്കുമ്പോൾ എനിക്കു ചിരി വരുന്നു.

വേലക്കാർക്കു് സംഘടനയില്ലപോലും! "അവർ ഞങ്ങളുടെ അടുത്തു വന്നു് അലട്ടുമ്പോൾ മാത്രമേ ഞങ്ങൾ അവരുടെ അവകാശങ്ങൾ കൊടുക്കുകയുള്ളുവെന്നാണു്" ഇതിന്റെ അർത്ഥം. പ്രജകളോടു് ഉത്തരവാദിത്വമുള്ള നിങ്ങൾ ഈ നാട്ടിലെ ഭൂരിപക്ഷം ആളുകളുടെ അലട്ടിനും മെക്കിട്ടുകേറലിനും വേണ്ടി ഇനിയും കാത്തുകൊണ്ടിരിയ്ക്കുകയാണൊ? അതുപോലെതന്നെ ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ അംഗങ്ങളായി വേലക്കാർക്കു പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു ചില വ്യവസ്ഥകളൊക്കെ വരുത്തണമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞപ്പോൾ ആലോചിയ്ക്കാമെന്നു് അന്നു മറുപടി പറഞ്ഞു. പ്രൊപ്പൈസ്കമ്മിറ്റി റിപ്പോർട്ടിന്മേലുണ്ടായ ഉത്തരവിൽ ആ ആലോചനയുടെയാതൊരു ചുക്കുംകണ്ടില്ല. ഇവിടെയുള്ള ജനങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങളും ആശകളുമെല്ലാം നിങ്ങൾ ഇങ്ങിനെ പൂജ്യമായിട്ടാണവസാനിപ്പിയ്ക്കുന്നതെന്നു് നാട്ടുകാർ പറയുവാൻ ഇടവരുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ അതു നിങ്ങൾക്കുതന്നെ വലിയൊരു പോരായ്മയാണെന്നുള്ള വിചാരത്തോടുകൂടിയെങ്കിലും ഈവക സംഗതികളിൽ ഒരു നിർബ്ബന്ധം വയ്ക്കണമെന്നു് എനിയ്ക്കാരപേക്ഷയുണ്ടു്.

President.—The Hon'ble Member will now close his speech.

Mr. P. S. Kesavan Nambudiri.—Sir, in the budget forecast, it has become a fashion with our Government to overestimate the receipts and underestimate the disbursements and present a primalacie prosperous budget. When we ask for retrenchment, by salary cut or otherwise, you tell us your exchequer is all alright and no such retrenchment is necessary. In the course of the year you find your budget insufficient and then either transfer the allotment from one item into another or spend in advance and afterwards come to this House for ratification and thus by back-door methods you carry the day. We have made our protest against this policy in the cut motion we

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

have carried the other day in the supplementary grant to the Forest Department'.

Sir, if you go through the budget before you you find there very little of originality or bold statesmanship. I don't blame the Finance Member. He is only a calculator of figures or a Comptroller of Accounts. You are simply plodding along the beaten track. We have been pleading for the establishment of a Land Mortgage Bank for relieving the indebtedness of the petty land-holders. Even the small land revenue remission granted to us last year is considerably reduced this time. I know Sir, you will complain of your paucity of funds. But don't think that we are irresponsible critics. We have lost no opportunity of pointing out to you the safe means for strengthening your financial position. It was with our solid vote that you introduced the Income-tax. Now you want us to levy duty even on Match-making and we agree to it. But Sir, when we say that the salary of the big officials should be cut down why don't you hear us? Considering the abnormal rise in the purchasing value of money, the high salaries of all big officials should be cut down. Excepting certain experts who may be appointed on special contracts, there should be no official in the State drawing a salary of more than Rs. 500 per mensem. When we hear that even the Prince of Wales has, in sympathy with the universal economic depression, cut short his personal allowances, we are surprised to find that the corresponding allowance here is increased by lakhs! Besides this by lavish expenditure on the entertainment of State Guests, and other tabooed items our State has become unbearably tired. It is up to the Government to find out suitable remedies, that our State may not be on the verge of bankruptcy in the near future.

But more than anything else Sir, the politics in this country centre round the scramble for Government jobs. As the Hon'ble Member for South Ezhuvas says, it is a fight between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. The Hon'ble Members for Trichur and Trippunithura might say that only efficiency and character might be considered in this respect. But let them understand that those virtues are not the monopoly of any particular community. I only suggest, that other qualifications being equal, preference should be given to candidates of unrepresented communities in the State. This should be the first principle the Government should stick up to. You should also endeavour to make the Government service less attractive to the ambitious people. For this it is highly necessary that the salaries of high officials should be curtailed as I suggested before. The number of officials may be increased but their

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

period of service also may be curtailed. I know Sir, you will say that the cut in the salaries and curtailment of services will bring about bribery and curruption. Then Sir, I hope the Hon'ble Member for Police with his new C. I. D officers will be able to bring to book those culprits red-hand and you can deal with them with an iron hand like Stalin or Hitler and I can assure you that we all will stand behind you. Thus Sir, an immediate revolution has to be brought about in the public service in our State.

When we come to our Constitutional development, the less said about it the better. The little privilege we have obtained by convention, of the academic discussion of our constitutional affairs, was deprived of us by the Acting Diwan President during the last Budget Session and in protest we threw out the General Administration demand and the House was adjourned for one whole day. Thus Sir, we demonstrated that we can not only speak but act when occasions arise. This also indicates that when common questions arise or when the interest of our State is at stake we can move with concerted action irrespective of differences in caste or creed. Again and again we are clamouring for self-government. When in British India our brethren are fighting for control over the army, the navy and the foreign relations, we are untouchable to the 'Nayar Brigade' and the 'Harbour' and 'Railway'. Even in the matter of legislation, when we say that certain changes should be made in our antiquated customs our wishes are thrown to the winds. We are not able even to copy the laws in British India to suit the same conditions here. Thus Sir, if we are still driven desperate, I sound a note of warning to the Government that we will have to take refuge under the paramount power or who knows that the State will not follow under the banner of the Hon'ble Member for Cranganur or his comrade Mr. Cherian Manjuran?

Mr. P. C. Varkey.—Sir, I rise to express relief that in this period of world-wide depression our Budget has been satisfactorily balanced. A recurring surplus in the finances of the State is any day preferable to the calamity of a deficit in our exchequer which is bound to react adversely on our credit outside. For this reason I should congratulate the Government on the proper equilibrium shown in the budget estimates.

Much as I sympathise with the unfortunate ryot in his indebtedness, I do not share the view that any amount of assistance by way of advances of money or remission of taxes would eradicate the evil. Loans, doles or remissions can at best be local and partial palliatives, not radical cures of a wide-spread disease, as may be seen from the demands for loans to the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

extent of 49 lakhs received so far by the Government. If through economic depression the value of agricultural produce has depreciated, the best ameliorative method that I can think of is the discovery of fresh markets for our goods, side by side with an intensification of cultivation. Thus, when the price had dropped by half, the yield should be doubled, so that the agriculturist shall not be very much of a loser. I am afraid that in this connection I have to lodge a serious complaint against the Department of Agriculture which has existed all these years as an expensive 'White Elephant' of the State. I have no hesitation to characterise that Department as one of the most woefully neglected of the genuine needs of an agricultural State like ours. Can they show after many years of criminal waste of public money that they have achieved anything tangible by way of improving the quality or the quantity of cultivating paddy, cocoanuts and other agricultural, revenue-yielding produce? It is very well to grow orchards and flower gardens, and to sample graft mangoes and pine apples, but there is hardly any justification for wasting public money without adequate return therefor, or for maintaining a department for providing employment and comfortable life for a few. The Department of Agriculture deserves an urgent and complete overhaul, to make it at least justify its name.

It is to be hoped that under fresh and external impetus and inspiration the Co-operative Department will cease to be a loan-multiplying and debtor-producing organisation. Why should not agriculture and co-operation work hand in hand both in the sphere of production and that of distribution through the popularisation of a system of agricultural loans and the establishment of Co-operative Marketing Centres. That would be a practical way of teaching the ryot thrift and procuring him the best value for his produce without recourse to the middle man's profits. Cottage industries, poultry-keeping, bee-keeping and other activities have scope in Cochin if the departments concerned show imagination, circumspection and initiative.

Yet another logical way out of the economic impasse is the tapping of unexplored and potential sources of sure revenue in the State. The introduction of fresh taxation like the Income-tax, or the enhancement of Anchal rates cannot have continual elasticity to be dependable in times of emergency or depression. The forests and the backwaters of Cochin, however, hold much hidden and unassessed sources of income that should be ours for some investigation, enterprise and experiment. The broadening of the Railway gauge should provide a convenient outlet to the many valuable timbers of our forests, the pepper, spices,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

coffee and other produce, medical herbs and roots, bamboo, fire-wood, lemon-grass and other innumerable raw and manufactured articles that should ultimately develop the activities of our Forest Department. Our rivers and backwaters are replete with the most delicious fishes which await the proper organisation of a Department of Fishing trade and industry. The practice of entrusting the work of the Fisheries to unimaginative clerks of the Revenue Department has resulted in stagnation and neglect of the resources of the backwaters. The satisfactory progress being made in the State Potteries under the direction of a competent industrial expert ought to encourage the Government to take the bold step of attracting even at some initial cost, real experts who know their business to explore the industrial possibilities of fishing in the State waters. To give but one example, our sardines which were sold recently at about a thousand for ananna, are admittedly the largest and the most nutritious in the world, comparing most favourably with the tinned varieties sold at about eight annas for a tin of not more than twelve tinyfishes. I can visualise possibilities of commercialising our lobsters, oysters, prawns, ponfrets and other edible varieties whose supply is unlimited, through the establishment of centres of pisciculture, under expert control, scientific canning, pickling and bottling, and wide-world marketting.

In view of the possibilities of a first rate Harbour being available to us—and I hope that the fourth stage would be pushed through at all costs—the State would do well to consider the need for a Department of Commercial Intelligence, Overseas Trade and Publicity. The Government of Travancore have already appointed a Trade Representative in Bombay, while Mysore's Trade Commissioner in London has not only done splendid work in finding a world market for their sandal wood oil, coffee, Timber and other produce, but has also functioned as that State's accredited purchasing Agent in Europe, and the official publicity and Travel Representative and Advertising Specialist extolling the beauties of Mysore and attracting tourists to that State. If we are to undertake an active Trade Representative of that nature I can anticipate the cost of the establishment will be out of the trade discounts and Commissions we shall be entitled to on account of direct purchases in Europe and America without having to share them as at present with interminable intermediaries and agencies. I hope the attention of the Government will also be drawn to the investigation of the possibilities of further pushing the sales of our cocoanuts and its bye-products in the very wide internal Indian markets. Any experimental outlay should not be grudged by a Government seeking

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

not the immediate relief of a section of the people from indebtedness but the greater prosperity of the State as a whole in the long-run. That would to my thinking a more rational expenditure than the so-called economic survey of two or more typical villages. What we need is not so much academic research as economic reconstruction.

One word more, and I am done. In a State like ours where both literacy and political consciousness are admittedly at a high level, it is but natural that the communities that are sparsely represented in the services should feel aggrieved at one or two monopolists enjoying the lion's share of about 40 lakhs distributed every year as the salary of the Government servants. When we give a kind of education befitting our youth only for the dull drudgeries of office, is it surprising that the unemployed amongst them should clamour for a proportionate share in the offices? I should therefore urge that the Government should implement its solemn word given on the floor of this House and establish the Public Service Commission without any further delay. I am hopeful that our benevolent and sympathetic Ruler and our just and fair-minded Diwan would take steps to avoid disappointment on this score. I must congratulate the Government on the general purity and integrity of the majority of the Heads of Departments, and the universal esteem and affection the Diwan has himself inspired by his tact and courage in the service of the State. I am sure he will continue to evince the heroism in the fights on our behalf, and insure the position and prosperity of the State in future.

മിസ്റ്റർ എം. കൃഷ്ണമേനോൻ.— ഏകദേശം ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ്റ് നിരൂപണത്തിന്റെ രൂപത്തിൽ ഇതു് എന്റെ അവസാനത്തെ പ്രസംഗമാണെന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശത്തോടുകൂടിയും, ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ ഞാൻ തുറന്നുപറയുവാൻ പോകുന്നതായ ചില അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളോടു് എന്റെ മാന്യ സ്നേഹിതന്മാരായ നാണഫിഷ്യൽ സാമാജികന്മാരെല്ലാം പുറമെ സമ്മതിച്ചില്ലെങ്കിലും മനസാ യോജിയ്ക്കുമെന്നുള്ള വിശ്വാസത്തോടുകൂടിയുമാണു് ഞാൻ ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് നിരൂപണം ചെയ്യുവാൻ വിചാരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്.

ഒന്നാമതായി ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനോടെനിയ്ക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു് ഫർ % ഭ്രനികുതിയിൽനിന്നും കുറച്ചു കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയതു തെറ്റാണെന്നാണു്. ഇതുകൊണ്ടു പൊതുജനങ്ങൾക്കു യാതൊരു പ്രയോജനവും ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ല. എന്റെ മാന്യ സ്നേഹിതൻ കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ മെമ്പർതന്നെ സമ്മതിയ്ക്കും അഴീക്കോട്ടു വില്ലേജിൽ എല്ലാവരേക്കാളും കൂടുതലായി നികുതി കൊടുക്കുന്ന ആൾക്കു നികുതിയിൽ ഫർ % കുറവുചെയ്തു കൊടുത്താൽ യാതൊരു പ്രയോജനവുമില്ല എന്നു്.

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മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എം. ഇബ്രാഹിം.—ഇല്ലെന്നു പറയുവാൻ തരമില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ എം. കൃഷ്ണമേനോൻ:— ചില നികുതിഭായകന്മാർക്ക് ഒരു രൂപയിൽ കിട്ടുന്നതു രണ്ടണയാണ്. അവർക്കു ബീഡിയുടേയും ഒരു പെട്ടി സിഗററിന്റേയും വിലകൂടി കിട്ടുന്നില്ല. ഈ സംഗതി ഒന്നു മയവായി ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു മെമ്പർമാരും ദിവാൻജിയവർകളും എന്റെ മാന്യ സ്നേഹിതന്മാരായ അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥസാമാജികന്മാരും ആലോചിയ്ക്കുക. ബഡ്ജററിലെ ഒ, വ, ന് എന്നീ മൂന്നനങ്ങളിൽ കൂടി ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിലേയ്ക്ക് ഫ ള -ൽ ചിലപ്പോൾ ലക്ഷം രൂപാ നികുതി കൊടുക്കുന്നതാരാണ്? അവർക്ക് ഈ ഫ ഡ൯% വിട്ടുകൊടുത്താൽ ഒന്നിൽ ചിലപ്പോൾ ലക്ഷം രൂപാ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു് നഷ്ടമെന്നല്ലാതെ മറെറന്തു പ്രയോജനമാണുള്ളതു്? സിഗററു വലിച്ചും, ബീഡി വലിച്ചും, കഞ്ഞാവു വലിച്ചും, കള്ളുകുടിച്ചും ഈ കൊച്ചീഗവമ്മെണ്ടിലേയ്ക്ക് നാട്ടുകാർ കൊടുക്കുന്ന നികുതിയാണ് ഈ ഫ ള-ൽ ചിലപ്പോൾ ലക്ഷം രൂപാ. അങ്ങിനെ ഫ ള-ൽ ചിലപ്പോൾ ലക്ഷം രൂപാ നികുതി കൊടുക്കുന്ന നാട്ടുകാർക്ക് ഭൂനികുതിയിൽ ഫ ഡ൯% വിട്ടുകൊടുത്താൽ ലാഭമെന്തു്? ഞാൻ ഇതു പറയുമ്പോൾ, ഭൂനികുതിയിൽ ഫ ഡ൯% വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കുന്നതിനെ ഒരു നിയമസഭാമെമ്പർ എതിർത്തുകൊണ്ടു പറയുന്നു; അതു പാടില്ല എന്നു് നിങ്ങൾ പറയുമായിരിയ്ക്കാം. എത്ര വലിയ കാഠിന്യം! എത്ര വലിയ അജ്ഞതം! എന്നു നിങ്ങൾക്കു തോന്നാം. ആ സംഗതിയിൽ നിങ്ങൾ സപല്പമായി ഒന്നാലോചിയ്ക്കണം. ഓരോരുത്തർക്കും കിട്ടുന്ന സംഖ്യ എത്രയോ സപല്പമായതു്; അതിന്റെ ആകെത്തുക ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നും വിനിയോഗിച്ചു് ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു ഇൻവസ്റ്റ്മെന്റായോ മറേറാ തുടങ്ങിയാൽ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു എത്ര വളരെ ഉപകാരപ്രദമായിരിയ്ക്കും.

ഇപ്പോൾ ചിലടങ്ങളിൽ തന്നെ ഒരു ഫാക്ടറി ഏർപ്പെടുത്തി അതു ഉടമസ്ഥനില്ലാതെ കിടക്കുന്നു. വളരെ ചുരുക്കം സംഖ്യ ചിലവിട്ടാൽ അതു് ഒരു റബ്ബർ ഫാക്ടറിയായിട്ടോ മറേറാ നടത്തി ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിലേയ്ക്കു കൂടുതൽ ആദായമുണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ സാധിയ്ക്കുന്നതാണ്. വളരെ സാധുക്കൾക്ക് ഉപജീവനമാർഗ്ഗം കിട്ടുന്നതും ആകുന്നു.

പിന്നെ ഒരു സംഗതി പ്രധാനമായിട്ടു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു് ഈ കൌൺസിലേയ്ക്ക് കൂടുതൽ അധികാരങ്ങൾ കൊടുക്കണമെന്നുള്ള അഭിപ്രായത്തെപ്പററിയാണ്. അതിനെ കുറിച്ചുള്ള പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾ ഞാൻ കേട്ടു. ഒൻപതോ പത്തോ സാമാജികന്മാരുടെ ബഡ്ജററു പ്രസംഗം ഇന്നലെ ഇവിടെ നടന്നിരിയ്ക്കുന്നു. ചോദ്യോത്തരത്തിൽ തന്നെ കുഞ്ഞിക്കുട്ടിയമ്മയുടെ ഭർത്താവാരാണെന്നു് ന്യൂ ഠ രൂപാ രൂപമ്പളം വാങ്ങുന്ന ഹുജൂർ സിക്രട്ടറി പറയണം എന്നാണ് ഒരു മാന്യ സ്നേഹിതൻ പറയുന്നതു്. പ്രസംഗത്തിന്റെ സ്ഥിതിനോക്കിയാൽ ഓരോ സമുദായക്കാർ, മാപ്പിള

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മാക്ക് ഉദ്യോഗം കിട്ടണമെന്നു മാപ്പിളമാർ, ചോവനു ഉദ്യോഗം കിട്ടണമെന്നു ചോവൻ, നായക്കു കിട്ടണമെന്നു നായർ, മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങൾക്കു കിട്ടണമെന്നു മുസ്ലീം ഇങ്ങിനെ ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനുവേണ്ടിയുള്ള വഴക്ക്. "അങ്ങാടിയിൽ തോറ്റാൽ അമ്മയോടു" എന്നുള്ള നിലയിൽ ഒരു മാന്യ സ്നേഹിതൻ തന്നെ ഇവിടെ പ്രസംഗിയ്ക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരു സഭയ്ക്കാണോ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിൽനിന്നും കൂടുതൽ അധികാരം കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു? ശരിയായ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വത്തോടുകൂടി വർഗ്ഗീയ മാത്സര്യത്തെ ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചു മാന്യമായ നിലയിൽ ഏതു കാലത്തു് ഈ നിയമസഭയിരിയ്ക്കുന്നുവോ ആ കാലത്തു വേണം ഇതിനേക്കാൾ കൂടുതലായ അധികാരങ്ങൾ ഈ നിയമസഭയ്ക്കു കൊടുക്കുവാൻ. അതിനുമുമ്പു കൊടുത്താൽ അപകടമാണു്. എന്റെ ഈ വക അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളോടുകൂടി പക്ഷെ മാന്യ സാമാജികന്മാർ യോജിയ്ക്കയില്ലായിരിയ്ക്കാം.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ടി. മാത്യു— ഇതു് അവസാനത്തേതാണെല്ലോ.

മിസ്റ്റർ എം. കൃഷ്ണമേനോൻ.— അതാണു് ഞാൻ മുമ്പേതന്നെ പറഞ്ഞതു്. ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ പറയുന്നതിൽ വല്ല സത്യവുമുണ്ടോ എന്നു നിങ്ങൾ ഈ പ്രസംഗങ്ങളൊക്കെ കഴിഞ്ഞശേഷം ഒരു സ്ഥലത്തിരുന്നു നല്ലപോലെ ആലോചിക്കണം.

ഇവിടെ അധികഭാഗവും വക്കീലന്മാരാണു്. ഞങ്ങളുടെ തൊഴിലുതന്നെ പ്രസംഗമാണു്. വെളുപ്പു കറുപ്പാക്കാനും, കറുപ്പു വെളുപ്പാക്കാനും,പാലും വെള്ളവും തിരിച്ചെടുക്കാനും സ്വതേതന്നെ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വശമുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇവിടെ പറയുന്ന സംഗതികളെല്ലാംകേട്ടു് പാലും വെള്ളവും തിരിച്ചെടുത്തു ന്യായപ്രകാരം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടിയാണു് സത്യസന്ധനായിരുന്ന ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഗവൺമെൻറിനെ സേവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു ദിവാൻജിയെ വരുത്തി ഈ രാജ്യത്തു വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു്. അദ്ദേഹത്തെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള സ്തുതികളാണു് ഞാൻ ഇന്നലെ ചില പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ കേട്ടതു്. ഇന്ദ്രനായതും ഭവാൻ, ചന്ദ്രനായതും ഭവാൻ എന്നൊക്കെ അദ്ദേഹത്തെ ആരാധിക്കുന്നതുകേട്ടു. ഇതാണു് ഇവിടെ കഴിഞ്ഞുവരുന്ന സ്ഥിതി. ഞാൻ ഈ അടുത്ത ചില കൊല്ലങ്ങളായി വളരെ ചുരുക്കമായിട്ടേ ചോദ്യങ്ങൾ ചോദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളൂ. എനിക്കറിയാനുള്ള വല്ല സംഗതികളും എഴുതി അയച്ചാൽ എന്റെ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതന്മാർ ശരിയായിട്ടു പറഞ്ഞുതരാറുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് വെറുതെ ചോദ്യങ്ങളയച്ചു റിക്കാർഡ്കാക്കിയിട്ടു പ്രയോജനമൊന്നും ഞാൻ കാണുന്നില്ല. റിക്കാർഡ്കേറ്റേണ്ട ആവശ്യത്തിനായിമാത്രം ഞാൻ ചോദ്യങ്ങൾ അയക്കാറില്ല.

ഇവിടെ നടന്ന പ്രസംഗങ്ങളെല്ലാം കേട്ടിട്ടു് അവസാനമായി എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്, ഈ സഭാമദ്ധ്യത്തിൽ ഒന്നു പറയുകയാമെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചാണു ഞാൻ എണീറ്റതു്. മതം

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ഇല്ലായ്മചെയ്യണമെന്നു ഒരു മഹാൻ പ്രസംഗിക്കുന്നു. കക്ഷിപിടുത്തം നടക്കുന്നതായി വേറെ ഒരു മഹാൻ ഘോഷിക്കുന്നു. പെറിഷനുംകൊണ്ടു് ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനായിട്ടു മേലധികാരികളുടെ പടിവാതുക്കൽ ചെന്നു മറിപ്പുകിടക്കുന്നു. ഇതൊക്കെയാണു നിയമസഭയിലെ പ്രസംഗവിഷയം.

ഇനി ഡിപ്രഷൻ കാര്യത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു് ഒരു സംഗതി ഞാൻ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവൺമെൻറിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ കൊണ്ടുവരാം. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ടസഹോദരന്മാർ അരവയറെന്നും, മുഴുപ്പട്ടിണിയെന്നും, പ്രസംഗിക്കുന്ന ഈ രാജ്യത്തുനിന്നും കഞ്ഞിവെവലിച്ചും കള്ളുകുടിച്ചും ഫ്ള-ൽ ചിലപ്പോൾ ലക്ഷം രൂപയാണു ഗവൺമെൻറിലേയ്ക്കു നികുതികൊടുക്കുന്നതു്. അവർ സഞ്ചാരസൗകര്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടിയും മറ്റും എത്ര രൂപായാണു് ചിലവാക്കുന്നതു്? ഡിപ്രഷൻ, ഡിപ്രഷൻ എന്നു പറയുന്നതു് ഇക്കാലത്തു വരവിൽ കൂടതലായി ചിലവു ചെയ്യുന്നവർക്കുമാത്രമേയുള്ളു. നാളികേരത്തിനു വില കുറഞ്ഞു. അതനുസരിച്ചു നെല്ലിനും മറ്റു സാമാനങ്ങൾക്കും വില കുറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. നാളികേരത്തിനു് എട്ടു രൂപായിൽ നിന്നും രണ്ടു രൂപാ വിലയായി. നെല്ലിനു കലമേനക്കു അതുപോലെ വില കുറവുണ്ടു്. അങ്ങിനെയിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഒരു ലക്ഷത്തിൽ ചിലപ്പോൾ രൂപാ ആക്കി ഒരു പ്രയോജനവുമില്ലാതെ ഗവൺമെൻറ് എന്തിനു വാട്ടകൊടുക്കണം? ഈ ഫ്ള-ൽ ചിലപ്പോൾ ലക്ഷം രൂപാ നാട്ടുകാർ കൊടുക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നു തീച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയാൽ മതിയല്ലോ? പിന്നെ എന്തിനു അതു കൊണ്ടുപോയി ഗവൺമെൻറിനു ദാനം ചെയ്യുന്നു? ഇതൊണ്ണം നമുക്കും ഡിപ്രഷൻ ഡിപ്രഷനെന്നു പറഞ്ഞു മുറവിളികൂട്ടുന്നതു്?

ഉല്പന്നങ്ങൾക്കു വില ഇനിയും കൂടും. ഭൂമിയിൽ പ്രയത്നം ചെയ്താൽ പ്രതിഫലം കിട്ടാതെയിരിക്കയില്ല എന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശത്തോടുകൂടി ഭൂമി വാങ്ങിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവരുണ്ടു്. അവരെ ഗവൺമെൻറിൽനിന്നും സഹായിക്കണം കടക്കാർ ഈ നാട്ടിൽ മൂന്നുതരക്കാരുണ്ടു്. മുതലിൽ കൂടുതൽ കടം, മുതലിനോളം കടം, മുതലിനു താഴ്ന്ന കടം. മുതലിൽ കൂടുതൽ കടമുള്ളവരെ ഈ ഗവൺമെൻറല്ല, ഭഗവാൻതന്നെ ഗവൺമെൻറായാലും മറേറതു ഗവൺമെണ്ടായാലും രക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ വിചാരിച്ചാൽ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. മുതലുള്ളവന്റെ കടത്തിനു യാതൊരു പ്രയാസവുമില്ലല്ലോ. കാലത്തു് ഒരു ആർഡിനൻസു പാസ്സാക്കി മുതലെല്ലാം സമമാക്കണമെന്നു ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനോടു ഒരു തരക്കാർ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. അതു കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ പിന്നെ മുതലുള്ളവർ എന്ന ഇനക്കാർതന്നെ ഇല്ലാതാകുമല്ലോ. പിന്നെ കടക്കാരും ഇല്ല. എല്ലാം ഏകമയം. വളരെ വിശേഷമായിരിക്കും.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എം. ഇബ്രാഹിം:—സ്വപ്നംകാണുന്നുണ്ടായിരിക്കാം.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

മിസ്റ്റർ എം. കൃഷ്ണമേനോൻ:—സ്വപ്നം കാണുകയല്ല. ഇപ്പോൾ ആ നിലയിൽ ചിലർ വന്നിരിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു പറയുകയാണു്. ഒന്നുമില്ലാതാകുമ്പോൾ സ്വപ്നം കാണേണ്ടിവരും.

മേല്പറഞ്ഞ രണ്ടു തരക്കാരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് അനേഷിക്കുവാനേല്പിച്ചുതരുവെങ്കിൽ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു സമുദ്രോത്തോടുകൂടി കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ തൊഴിലിനുവേണ്ടി കടം വാങ്ങിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള മുതലുള്ള ഒരു തരക്കാരെക്കുറിച്ചാണു്. അതു ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനു ചെയ്യുവാനും സാധിക്കും. അതിലേയ്ക്കു ഒരു മൂലധനത്തോടുകൂടി കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തു് ഒരു ലാൻഡ്മോർട്ട്ഗേജ് ബാങ്കു സ്ഥാപിക്കണം. അവർക്കു കടംകൊടുത്ത പലിശ കൊല്ലംതോറും വസൂൽചെയ്യണം. ഇതാണു് എന്റെ പ്രസംഗത്തിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശം. അല്ലാതെ അരവയറെന്നും, മുഴുപ്പട്ടിണിയെന്നും മറ്റും പറഞ്ഞാൽ ഒരു പ്രയോജനവുമില്ല. പക്ഷേ സേവയ്ക്കുവേണ്ടിട്ടൊ തുജനങ്ങൾക്കു തൽക്കാലം കിട്ടിയ ആദായത്തെ വേണ്ടെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതായി ചിലർക്കു തെറ്റിദ്ധാരണയുണ്ടായേക്കാം. വിദേശിയനായ ഒരു ദിവാൻജിയാണു നമുക്കുള്ളതു്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു് ഈ നാട്ടിലെ ഉള്ളുകള്ളികൾ ശരിയായി അറിയുവാൻ കഴിയുമോ എന്നു ഞാൻ സംശയിക്കുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു് അദ്ദേഹത്തോടു് വിനീതമായി രണ്ടപേക്ഷകൾ എനിക്കുചെയ്യുവാനുണ്ടു്. ഇവിടെ കുറെ പഴമയും പരമ്പരയുമുള്ളവരുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു അവരുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെക്കുറിച്ചുകൂടി ദിവാൻജിയവർകൾ കുറെ ദയവായിട്ടു ആലോചിക്കണമെന്നും ഞാൻ മുമ്പു പറഞ്ഞ മൂന്നാം തരക്കാർക്കു വേണ്ട നിവൃത്തിമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളുണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊടുക്കണമെന്നുമാണു് എന്റെ താഴ്മയായ അപേക്ഷ.

Mr. Paul Mampilli.—In this general discussion of the budget I think it will be pertinent to refer to a question of very great importance to the State which agitates the minds of all citizens at the present time, the question of the development of the 4th stage of the Harbour. The people of the State have been very anxiously watching the deliberations of the conferences held at different places and especially the deliberations of the conference recently held at Delhi. Though we have not been made aware of the details of the matters discussed at the conference, we have understood so far as to realise that the discussion at Delhi related primarily to the financial aspect of the question, viz., the proportion according to which the income from the harbour is to be divided among the various parties concerned. It is gratifying to note that our Government have put up a strong fight. In this connection all ought to acknowledge the very valuable services rendered to the cause of the State by our able and popular Diwan who, perhaps even at the risk of his future preferments, has been fighting sincerely and vehemently for our rights. The

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

dispute is not settled and therefore it is only our duty to strengthen the hands of the Government by giving expression to our whole-hearted support in the matter. We had heard that before the harbour scheme itself was launched all the parties interested in the question had come to a definite and final agreement as to all matters of importance connected with the development of the Harbour. The Four-parties agreement of 1925 had definitely made certain agreements by which it was agreed that the parties are to invest their capital in the scheme in certain proportions and also divide the income among themselves in a definite proportion. All parties were fully aware of the commitments they were going to make and also of the benefits that would accrue to them from the arrangement. It cannot be said that one of the parties to the agreement, viz., the Imperial Government was not cognisant of all the implications involved in the scheme. If any one party was aware of the implications it must have been the Imperial Government for none other had the opportunities and facilities like them to make a study of questions like this. Thus all parties with their eyes open and deliberately entered into the agreement of 1925. And in pursuance of the agreement each party began to carry out its own obligations. Basing our hopes on this we began to make very heavy commitments in other ways too. We had thought that Cochin had been brought into the scheme of this Four-party agreement much against the real interest of Cochin and in a way prejudicial to her future financial prospects. Anyhow having entered into the agreement, the Government of Cochin invested lakhs of money in the Harbour for the three stages. In addition to the investments in Harbour like other parties, Cochin had to pay an enormous price as the cost of the reclamation. She has also spent 80 lakhs for the conversion of railway into broad-gauge.

Thus Cochin stands committed to the scheme. To her the full development of the Harbour is the life blood of her existance. Her sources of income are few and almost all of them have become inelastic. The only source upon which we may depend for an enhanced revenue is the receipts from the Harbour. The future development and prosperity of our State mainly depend on the development of the Harbour. Hence to us the development of the 4th stage of the Harbour is a vital question. But it appears now that owing to reasons best known to themselves, the Imperial Government want to have the Four-party agreement modified or cancelled. There can be no right nor reason in such a demand. Can the reason be that might is right, that Cochin will have to obey when Imperial Government commands that is unable to withstand the inroads of a superior

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

power. It is true that Cochin is a small State situated in a far distant corner of India, miles away from the seat of the Imperial Government. But does any one think that Cochin can be treated in any fashion or made to do anything. We must fight to the last for justice and I am sure we will win because right is on our side. Is the solemn agreement of 1925 to be treated like a waste paper? I should think not. Our right and our proportion of income should never be disbursed.

The economic depression still weighs heavily on us. There has been no improvement whatever, rather the value of the produce of the land has gone still lower than last year. The agriculturists have become almost desperate. The Government are fully aware of these conditions. And yet it is most regretable to note that the Government have gone very little to relieve the distress of the people. The Government seem to have all good intentions but unless these good intentions are translated into action no benefit results for anyone.

To relieve debtors Government wanted to give a loan of Rs. 5 lakhs. Not a single pie has yet been given. An Economic Depression Committee was appointed to report on the relief measures. But no relief could yet be given. Then there was the Economic Survey being conducted and people had expected great things out of it. Hence again no result. Thus though the depression began in 1106, nothing useful could yet be done. I admit that Government cannot get us all out of the economic depression by a wave of the magic wand. Unless the value of the produce goes higher no all-round improvement can be achieved.

But what I want is that some earnest attempts should be made to receive the present distress. We are thankful to Government for the remission in land revenue for next year also. But the rate of remission is too low. Does the Government think that the situation has improved. Should they be told at all that the situation has gone from bad to worse and hence there is no reason why they should have gone back upon the remission allowed this year. I would urge that a remission of 25 per cent is called for and should be given.

We have been crying hoarse over the question of allowing the importation of copra into Cochin. There has been no relief whatsoever in this direction. It is true that our Government is powerless to do anything in the matter. We have to make our voice heard in the far distant Delhi but the ears of those in Delhi seem to be stuffed with the Bombay Cotton and however much we may try our voice do not seem to penetrate the barrier. I know that our Government have made representations to the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Imperial Government in the matter. I would request the Government to further pursue this point till we achieve the object. The Imperial Government cannot prefer one part of India in giving them all concession and protection and leave the rest to ruin and disaster.

One method to improve the situation of the cocoanut growers will be to improve the condition of coir so that it may fetch a higher price in the market. This point has been raised in this House on more than one occasion and the Government promised that they would appoint an expert to teach the people about the improved method of manufacturing coir. And yet I find no provision in the budget for this important matter. I would request the Government to immediately depute a competent officer to study the methods for manufacturing high class coir. He need be sent only to certain places in Travancore where this coir are manufactured and I am sure that the officer will be able to understand all the details within a short time. He would then be able to instruct our people regarding those methods and other ways of improving the Industry.

I have to raise my voice of protest against the vaxatious and iniquitous taxes that are imposed by the Public Health Department in the villages. One such tax is that which is levied on soaking husks. I understand that the department charges 8 as. for 1,000 husks. I cannot understand why they should levy this tax at all. Is the soaking of husks a dangerous trade so that a license has to be taken out for it? Already the price of cocoanut has gone down to the lowest level. Does the Department want that it should be reduced further? Then again I have heard that all petty trade and business in villages have to be licensed paying the department a license fee. I was told that a poor Pulaya had to pay a license fee of Re. 1 for selling two ducks which he had in his house while the ducks fetched only annas 12. The villagers have been getting on quite well without these systems of licensing and supervision. Are these things done because the department has nothing else to do? I would request the Government that these poor villagers may be left alone especially during these time of depression.

I endorse the opinion expressed by certain Hon'ble Members that we must have a competent officer to check the expenditure and receipts in connection with the Harbour and the Railway. I had raised this point once before and I was told that the expenditure on railway is being checked. I do not know who checks it and how it is checked. It is no secret that there is much waste in works connected with the railway and if

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

there was an officer of ours directly in charge of this I am sure that at least some amount of waste could have been avoided. In this connection I would make one suggestion. It is said that the old iron materials of the meter gauge line is to be taken over by the S. I. R. at the value of scraped iron. According to such rates they would bring us only a very nominal value. The iron materials though not fit for broad gauge had been fit for meter gauge. They are most of them good materials and cannot be included in the category of scraped iron. I think they would be of immense use to the State for the various works in the P. W. D., for example the girders of the old bridges might very well be used for the bridges we have to construct during the course of next year. Similarly the railings also might be of use for our works. So that I would say that the Government should see whether some of the materials cannot be utilised for our works.

Lastly I would urge on the Government to introduce the Public Service Commission at an early date. The Government has been promising this measure on various occasions and yet some how or other the fulfilment of the promise is delayed *Ad Infinitum*. I am compelled to refer to this matter because of the recent appointments made in the College. Though there were competent and qualified applicants from other communities, only caste-Hindus were appointed. There are about 40 or 45 appointments of Professors and Assistant Professors. Among them there are only three Christians and almost all the rest are caste-Hindus. And yet the recent appointments go only further to perpetuate this anomaly. And therefore I would request the Government not to delay any further the introduction of the Public Service Commission.

Mr. Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan.—Sir, the budget presented, as it appeals to me, is no doubt a master-piece of accountancy showing great knowledge of the various aspects of the Public Finance with a well balanced relation between the corresponding items of State revenue and expenditure.

At the same time, one who is in the actual knowledge of conditions prevailing in the various places in the State, one who has to come in contact with the various aspects of public life and various shades of public opinion, cannot help coming to the inevitable conclusion that this budget, appearing as it does, a very satisfactory solution for the conditions of Cochin for the coming year has not really solved very many difficulties confronting both the Government and the representatives of the people at large and there they stand staring in their faces.

No doubt the language of the Finance Member has been expressive of great feeling of sympathy and consideration on the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Part of the Government but the actual disbursements have to my great surprise fallen short of anxious expectations of the public in general and the population of my constituency, Mattancheri, in special.

My constituency containing as it does an overcrowded population of about half a lakh, many without a home to live water to drink, and good air to breathe requires an immediate and a much more lenient consideration on the part of the Government. It has been a regrettable misfortune to represent such people and this House will remember that time and again I have been harping on the various and urgent needs of Mattancheri with but very little response.

Absolutely insufficient water supply, absence of a sufficiently accommodating Public High School, a Travellers' Bungalow for the temporary stay of people who have to come to our town for commercial as well as other purposes, a playground for the children, and places of recreation for the adults, a Public library and a Public Hall, and last but not least a veterinary and a Civil Hospital have all been our cry in the past and they all remain to be our cry at present too.

No doubt our Government has made wholesome promises to fulfil all these. It is perhaps an attempt at beginning in one or two that fills our minds with hopes to realise our aspirations in the near future. But the present budget has, to our painful surprise, not made sufficient allotments to carry out any of our schemes to any appreciable state of advancement.

Now coming to the question of Capital out-lay, we are told that the fourth stage of the harbour, when completed, is going to be our treasure of the future. But in my humble opinion, I believe that the fourth stage, with all its advantages, is certainly going to tax the poor consumer with all the accompanying heavy wharfage charges, etc., on the one side and deprive the commercial classes of even the present facilities and income they derive on the other.

The third stage with a Broad-Gauge Railway is a convenient stage where to halt, and looking to the natural conditions of the Port, and without hindrance to the anticipated commercial advancement of the State, this state will be found more comfortable and wholesome.

Again, the Railway with all the improvements is going to be managed, as in the past by one, who is from outside the State and we will get the crumbs they throw at us as a remnant. Even if we go to other smaller State we find that Railways are being managed by themselves. We cannot see what is preventing us from this venture. Here we have not even a non-official

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

member of the State on the Board of the Railway. Can we not at least copy our immediate neighbour State?

It has been our cry since a long time past that the Government may be pleased to watch what the States of Mysore and Travancore are doing for the prosperity of their subjects. They have many industries aided by the Government funds, they have Sales Depots and agencies within and outside the States to find out markets for their produce and products to avert the crisis of the prevailing economic depression. But we regret that the Government have not been merciful enough to open their eyes to save their subjects.

Now, Sir, I have to point out the immediate calamity that has befallen the residents of my constituency, in as much as the Government have decided to levy the water-tax even prior to their fully enjoying the benefits of the supply. I would however request the Government once again that water-tax may be collected only at such time as the Government can supply water to the needs of the public and to pursue the present decision, which I think is far from fair. In conclusion, I would also point out to the Government that the public of my constituency have waited so long as the promises, assurances even on the floor of this House and on the advanced sympathetic considerations every time I have represented to the Government. I hope we shall not be asked to wait and see many a more time to come, in view of the specially high revenue they are deriving from my constituency.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. വള്ളോൻ.—സർ, മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് അവിടത്തെ ശവമ്മെണ്ടും ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ അധഃകൃതരുടെ ഉന്നമനാർത്ഥം ശവമ്മെണ്ടു ഭണ്ഡാരത്തിൽനിന്നും ഒരു വമ്പിച്ച തുക കൊല്ലന്തോറും ചിലവുചെയ്യുവരുന്നതിൽ ഞാൻ ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ഒരു അധഃകൃതപ്രതിനിധി എന്ന നിലയിൽ ശവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ ഏറ്റവും അഭിനന്ദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. അധഃകൃതോദ്ധാരണാർത്ഥം കഴിഞ്ഞ ആണ്ടത്തേക്കാൾ കൂടുതലായി ഒരു തുക ഈ ആണ്ടത്തെ ബഡ്ജറ്റിലും അനുവദിച്ചുകാണുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും, അധഃകൃതരുടെ ഉന്നമനത്തിനു വേണ്ടി നീക്കിവയ്ക്കുന്നതായ സംഖ്യകൾ ന്യായമായി വിനിയോഗിക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നുള്ള പരാതികൾ നാടൊട്ടുക്കു പരന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതിനു ഞാൻ ശവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ കുറ്റം പറയുന്നില്ല. അതു് അതിന്റെ ഭാരവാഹികളുടെ കുറ്റമാണെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. അധഃകൃതസംരക്ഷണത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഞാൻ ഇപ്പോൾ ഒന്നുംതന്നെ പറയുന്നില്ല; അതു മറ്റൊരു വസരത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളാമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നു.

ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകളെ പരിഹരിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടി ശവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നും യാതൊന്നും ചെയ്യുക

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ണ്ണന്നില്ല. ഗവൺമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ഇന്നത്തെ നിലപണക്കാരുടേയും ഭൂസ്വത്തുടമസ്ഥന്മാരുടേയും ഭാഗത്തേയ്ക്കാണെന്നുള്ളതു് എന്നു് എവിടെ നോക്കിയാലും കാണാവുന്നതാണു്. സാധുക്കളായ ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ഭൂരിപക്ഷം ജനങ്ങളും ഇന്നു് അത്യധികം പട്ടിണി അനുഭവിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഗവൺമ്മെണ്ടു് നല്ലപോലെ മനസ്സിലാക്കിയിട്ടില്ലെന്നു വേണം പറയുവാൻ. കർഷകന്മാരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഗവൺമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നും അവരുടെ സംരക്ഷണാർത്ഥം ഒരു തുക അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി കാണുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതിൽ സാധുക്കളായിരിക്കുന്ന തൊഴിലാളികൾക്കു് യാതൊരു പങ്കുമുള്ളതായി കാണുന്നില്ല. അതു മുഴുവൻ രണ്ടാംതരക്കാരായ കൃഷിഉടമസ്ഥന്മാർക്കായിട്ടാണു് അനുവദിച്ചുകാണുന്നതു്. ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ തൊഴിലാളികൾ നട്ടെല്ലു മുറിഞ്ഞു വേല ചെയ്യുന്നതിൽനിന്നു് അവർക്കു് കിട്ടുന്ന കൂലി വെറും രണ്ടോ നാലോ അണമാത്രമാണു്. അതു് പ്രഭാതം മുതൽ പ്രദോഷം വരെ പട്ടിണി കിടന്നു കഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടു് വേല ചെയ്താൽ കിട്ടുന്ന കൂലിയാണു്. ഇത്രമാത്രം കഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടു വേല ചെയ്യുന്ന സാധുക്കൾക്കു് അവരുടെ ഉപജീവനമാർഗ്ഗത്തിനുള്ള വകകൂടി കിട്ടുന്നില്ലെന്നു വരുന്നതു് എത്രത്തോളം കഷ്ടമാണു്? അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഗവൺമ്മെണ്ടു് ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു് കൂടുതലായ ശ്രദ്ധ പതിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നു് എനിക്കപേക്ഷയുണ്ടു്.

ഈ നിയമസഭയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, ഇതു പണക്കാരുടെ വകയാണു്. സാധുക്കൾക്കു് ഇവിടെ യാതൊരു അവകാശവും സ്ഥാനവുമില്ല. ഞാൻ കുറെ കാലമായി പണക്കാരുടേയും മറ്റും കായ്ക്കളാണു് ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ അധികവും കേൾക്കുന്നതു്. തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ കായ്ത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് പറയുവാൻ ഈ സഭയിൽ ആരുംതന്നെയില്ല.

പ്രായപൂർത്തിവോട്ടവകാശം കിട്ടണമെന്നുള്ള മുറവിളി ഇവിടെയുണ്ടായിരുന്നതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് യാതൊന്നും ഇതേവരെ ഗവൺമ്മെണ്ടു് ചെയ്തനിക്കുകയുണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ നിലയിൽ തൊഴിലാളികൾക്കു് ഇവിടത്തെ ഗവൺമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ഭരണകായ്ങ്ങളിൽ യാതൊരു അവകാശവും അനുവദിച്ചുകാണാത്തതു് വളരെ സങ്കടകരമാണു്. ഇവിടത്തെ പരിഷ്കാരത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു് ആലോചിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഗവൺമ്മെണ്ടു് ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ തൊഴിലാളികൾക്കുംകൂടി ഇവിടത്തെ ഭരണാധികാരത്തിൽ പങ്കെടുക്കുവാനുള്ള അവകാശമുണ്ടെന്നു് കാണിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടി അവർക്കും ഒരു സ്ഥാനം കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതല്ലേ? ആ കായ്യം ഗവൺമ്മെണ്ടു് ഇതുവരെ ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല. ഇവിടത്തെ വസ്തുടമസ്ഥന്മാരിൽനിന്നു് ഒക്കെല്ലാംതോറും ഫൈൽലക്ഷം രൂപായാണു് ഗവൺമ്മെണ്ടിലേയ്ക്കു കിട്ടിക്കാണുന്നതു്. തൊഴിലാളികളായ പാവങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും മുതലാളിമാരിൽനിന്നു് കിട്ടുന്നതിലും

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നാല്പ ഭാഗം കൂടുതൽസംഖ്യകൂടിക്കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. എക്സൈസ്വകുപ്പിൽ ഈയാണ്ടത്തെ വരവിനെക്കുറിച്ചു സൂക്ഷിച്ചുനോക്കിയാൽ കാണാം. ഈ സാധുക്കളായ ആളുകൾ നാട്ടെല്ലു മുറിഞ്ഞു വേല ചെയ്തുണ്ടാക്കുന്ന സംഖ്യയാണ് ഇത്ര ലക്ഷം വരവുള്ളതെന്നു പല തുകൊണ്ടും നോക്കിയാൽ മനസ്സിലാകുന്നതാണ്. തൊഴിലാളികൾ ഒരു കുപ്പി കള്ളു കുടിക്കുന്നതെങ്കിൽ അതിൽനിന്നും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു കിട്ടുന്ന ആദായം കാലണയാണ്. അതിൽനിന്നും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു ഒരു വലിയ ആദായം ഉണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ സാധുക്കൾക്ക് ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ പൌരാവകാശത്തിൽ ഒരു പങ്കുകൂടി കൊടുത്തു അവരേയും ഇവിടത്തെ പൌരാവകാശികൾ ആക്കണമെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നതു. എന്തുകൊണ്ടു പ്രായപൂർത്തിവോട്ടവകാശം കൊടുത്തുകൂടായെന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു.

വിദ്യാഭ്യാസസംബന്ധമായി ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നും എല്ലാവക്കും പ്രോത്സാഹനങ്ങൾ നൽകിവരുന്നുണ്ട് എന്നാൽ എന്തുകൊണ്ടു ഇവിടത്തെ സാധുക്കൾക്കു നിർബ്ബന്ധവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഉണ്ടാക്കികൊടുക്കുന്നില്ല എന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു.

ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു എനിയ്ക്കുപറയുവാനുള്ളതു കർഷകന്മാർക്കു ഗുണംകിട്ടണമെന്നും അവർഅനവധികഷ്ടതകൾ അനുഭവിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നും നാടൊട്ടുക്കു മുറവിളികൂട്ടുന്നുണ്ട്. അവർക്കു ചിലഗുണങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യാൻഭാവമുണ്ടത്രേ; അതുമാത്രംപോരാ, ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ തൊഴിലാളികളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ശരിയായ ഒരു കായ്പരിപാടി ഉണ്ടാക്കിത്തീർക്കണമെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു. തൊഴിലാളികൾക്കു തൊഴിൽ സംബന്ധമായി ഒരു ക്ലിപ്തപ്രമാണം ഏർപ്പെടുത്തണം. ഓരോ തൊഴിലാളികളും ഇത്രയിത്ര സമയമേ വേലചെയ്യുവാൻ പാടുള്ളുവെന്നും ഇത്ര സമയം വേലചെയ്താൽ ഇന്നയിന്ന കൂലി കൊടുക്കണമെന്നുമുള്ള ഒരു നിയമം ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തണം. ദാരിദ്ര്യവും പട്ടിണിയും അനുഭവിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഭൂരിപക്ഷം ജനങ്ങൾ ഈ നാട്ടിൽ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുമ്പോൾ കുറെ ധനികന്മാർ മാത്രം സുഖിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിനെ കുറിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ആ ധനികന്മാരെ മാത്രം പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിച്ചാൽപോരാ. സാധുക്കളേയുംകൂടി സഹായിക്കണമെന്നുഞാൻ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനാകട്ടെ അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥനാകട്ടെ ഏതെങ്കിലും കുറ്റം ചെയ്തു എന്നുള്ള ആക്ഷേപം ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ചെവിയിൽ കണ്ണുകണ്ണുകയാ കേട്ടാൽ വേണ്ട അന്വേഷണംനടത്തി കുറ്റക്കാരനെ മുഖം നോക്കാതെ ശിക്ഷിക്കണം. എന്നാൽ അനീതിപ്രവൃത്തിക്കുവാൻ ഒരുത്തൻപോലുംതുനിയുന്നതല്ല.

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നേരെമറിച്ച് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനായതുകൊണ്ടോ മുതലാളിയായതു കൊണ്ടോ ഒരു മാപ്പു കൊടുക്കുന്നതായാൽ കാലതാമസംവിനാ അനുഭവത്തിന്റെ കഴുത്തറുത്തു രക്തം കുടിക്കുവാൻ തുടങ്ങുന്നതാണ്. ഞാനിതു പറയുവാനുള്ള കാരണം ചില ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥമേധാവികളുടെ പേരിലുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള പരാതികളും അവരെ തന്നെ അന്വേഷിക്കുവാൻ ഏല്പിച്ചതായി ഈ സഭയിൽതന്നെ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. അതൊരു തമാശയിത്തിന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്.

അത്തരക്കാർ ഇന്നും സാധുക്കളുടെ രക്തം ഊറ്റികുടിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു് താഴെക്കിടയിൽനിന്നും സൂക്ഷ്മമായി ഒന്നന്വേഷിച്ചാൽ അറിയാവുന്നതാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ട് പാവങ്ങളെ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന ചില ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും മുതലാളികളും ചെയ്യുന്ന അനീതികളെ എതിർത്തു സാധുക്കളെ രക്ഷിക്കണമെന്നു് വീണ്ടും അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.— Mr. President, Sir, confining my attention to the real scope of the general discussion I wish to offer only a few words upon the general principles underlying the budget figures and perhaps a word or two on the budget as a whole. In this connection I cannot help saying that the course of discussion in the House last day was not of a nature with which I can unreservedly agree. The scope of the general discussion as I said before, under the rules, is only a discussion of the principles or the policy of the Government and not of individual criticisms of either a department or a head of department. I am sure that if the Hon'ble President had been less sympathetic and less generous and less indulgent we would not have had the painful feeling of hearing stories of blasting rocks and the exportation of monkeys. The exportation of monkeys is necessary not only in Pazhayannur but there are other places from which they ought to be exported and we would not have heard of lethargy of one department or the encomiums of another department in a general discussion. As I said before if the Hon'ble President had been less generous certainly we would not have heard all these. Recently I had the good fortune to be present in a similar Council where I was a witness of the rigorous and vigorous application of the rules of the Council and even the rules of relevancy under the Evidence Act in allowing members of the Council to speak upon subjects.

Mr. T. K. Nayar.—Where is it?

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—In Travancore.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Do you want to follow Travancore?

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—I do not want. I wanted only my honourable colleagues to remember that we are given certain privileges not for the purpose of misusing them but for

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using them legitimately and unflinchingly whenever we find an occasion to do so. (*Hear, hear*). That is only by the way.

Speaking on the budget in general I am glad that the Hon'ble Finance Member has given me a question, which not only I but even non-official, nay, even the official members of this House will be inclined to ask—namely, "what has the Government done to lift the masses from out of the slough of despond in which they have unfortunately fallen during the last few years." I need not repeat the question once more ; but I wish to remind the House the question put is what has been done. What is the answer suggested by the Finance Member ? "Wait and see." I have no quarrel with him because that is the only answer that he could give ; because nothing has been done in the interest of the masses. No doubt I do not forget the fact that some remissions were given in the matter of land revenue and certain concessions have been given in the collection of kists so far as the Government is concerned. But the question revolves itself into this. Were these sufficient and is the Government satisfied that the time has come when even the little concession that was granted last year may be cut short to 12½ per cent ? I am sure that the Government will not be inclined to say that circumstances have improved which have justified the reduction. Now there is no doubt one redeeming feature in this reduction. Last year when the reduction was given it was accompanied by the condition that an amount similar to the one given by way of remission will be also given up by giving up works of public utility. What I say is the little grace that accompanied the grant was taken away by the condition attached to it. Now I cannot forget the fact that it is a substantial amount that was given up when 18¾ was given as remission. Now how much has the Government suffered by the giving up of this 18¾ even ? If the revised figures are to be accepted as they ought to be accepted, we see that the income has increased by about 2 lakhs than the estimated amount of 1109. But unfortunately it will be found that the expenses also has increased and the total has resulted in a deficit. I am glad that 3 and odd lakhs is the deficit because I attribute it as a divine punishment on the Government for refusing the humble request of this House for permission to discuss schemes which was estimated to cost about 4 lakhs of rupees. Why that discussion even, was denied to us one fails to understand and the fact that that amount was taken away from the ken of the Council is perhaps reflected by the deficit which the Government cannot but endure.

Now one word more. Lower down the Finance Member says "it is useful to remember that all normal sources of revenue

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and taxation have been tapped to the point of exhaustion and that our future hopes are centred mainly on the potentialities of Capital outlay works, such as the Harbour and Railway." Therefore the final word of the Finance Member is that we have hereafter to depend more or less upon the revenue that we may expect from the Harbour and from the Railway. It is not my opinion that we are not legitimately entitled to expect reasonable returns from the outlay that we have made but whether that will be sufficient in itself to meet the growing demands of administration especially seeing that the other sources have been tapped to exhaustion.

If that is so, what is the next step that a forseeing Government ought to place before the mind's eye. As has been alluded to by one of the Hon'ble Members the only salvation then lies in the industrial development so far as the country can afford to do. (*Hear, hear*). Therefore I say that unless the Government wakes up and tries to tap all the sources through the industrial methods, Cochin seems to have no salvation with regard to her permanent revenues. Here again I am not speaking in a despondent spirit. I have sufficient faith in a large remunerative return coming from both the investments—the harbour and the railway. But they cannot themselves be expected to meet all our demands and therefore I say industrialisation is the only source that is open to us. So far as our country is concerned our industries are now confined to about half a dozen industries. Some of them may be characterised as major and others minor. With regard to the minor industries I am not hopeful of getting a sufficiently large sum from these industries however much Government may exert. But on that account the Government is not to ignore them because it will be a source of help to villagers or rather I might say for the purpose of rural reconstruction. The major industries that I am alluding to is the Hydro-Electric scheme. From the scraps of knowledge that I have been able to get on this subject shows that if a hydro-electric scheme is brought into existence the return from that investment will be sufficiently large not only to meet the interest of capital expenditure and running charges but even to lay by a sinking fund which in course of time will be able to redeem the whole amount even if the whole amount is met from borrowed capital. Now with regard to minor industries I have only one or two in my mind when I said that and the first is with regard to rubber. No doubt we have been passing through a crisis in the history of rubber. But again to borrow from the Finance Member, "a distant silver lining" is seen in that direction. With sufficient energy and enthusiasm in working up that question I think

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though not a very large return but something substantial may be expected in that connection also. Second is with regard to the tanneries which I am afraid is a dead concern now so far as its working is concerned. But even tanning on a small scale may be attempted and I am led to believe that if proper precaution is taken at least the local demand of that material can be turned out from Chalakkudi. It will be a paying concern so far as the running charges are concerned. I do not forget in this connection the coir industry. Sufficient has been said by my colleagues with regard to that industry and how that may be benefitted by importing experienced hands from outside or sending our own men to places where that industry is carried on sufficiently satisfactorily. When I remember coir industry I may not forget the cocoanut industry. So far as I am concerned I cannot fully appreciate the so-called injury caused to the cocoanut industry of Cochin by the copra imported from Ceylon. To my mind it appears to be rather a complicated problem and I have not been able to study the question thoroughly. Therefore I do not express any definite opinion in the matter. There is one thing which is relevant in another way, also because one Hon'ble member was speaking of the neglected condition of agricultural improvement by the Agricultural Department. In that connection he mentioned that the agricultural cocoanut station near Ernakulam, that is Vyttila should be abolished. One piece of information which I can vouchsafe to be true will be sufficient to show that the department has not been wasting the money that is entrusted to them, but they have been carrying out experiments which if the people were willing to take advantage of, will improve their cocoanut gardens. The cocoanuts in the farm are sold at least at a higher price ranging from 12 as. to Re. 1 for 120. That is due to the fact that the fruits produced in the farm are obtained by scientific manuring. By using scientific manure the yield has increased and also the valuable substance of the nut has been increased. It cannot be said therefore that the department has not been able to do anything by way of improving agriculture. In regard to paddy which is the main consideration of the Agricultural department I am not in a position to speak because I have not come across any plot cultivated under the direction of the department to know whether they have derived any benefit out of that cultivation in the way that the department has given direction. Sir, though I am not permitted by myself according to the strict scope of the discussion that I alluded to in the beginning of the speech I can't help referring to one or two matters which were brought to the notice of the Council both yesterday and to-day.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

One question is the question of electricity. One Hon'ble Member has been critisising a provision of 4 lakhs of rupees in the next year's budget as a luxury. I fail to see where the luxury comes in, when the innumerable benefits that could be derived by electrification of both the towns are taken into consideration. One other point that was brought to the notice of the House yesterday and about which I also wish to bring to the notice of the Government is the fact of Devaswam tenants being deprived of the benefits of the remission granted by the Government. When I say the Devaswam tenants I mean the tenants under the Devaswam owned or managed by the Government and not the private ones. I fail to see why the Devaswams, being treated as landlords or owners of land, all owners of land have been given remission, why Devaswam should be deprived of the remission—of course it is not that but they in their turn deprive the tenants of the remission. So far as the Government are concerned I do not see why Government should make any distinction between the tenants of Devaswam and ordinary tenants of ordinary landlords. On the other hand I would expect the Government to set an example to the other jenmies so that if there are any one recalcitrant among them, may be taught a lesson.

One word more and that is with regard to the harbour and the loan. I was rather amused to hear one Honourable Member yesterday saying that the Government were wasting the amount of the difference in the rate of interest of the amount that is not utilised but which has been put at a low rate of interest and the interest guaranteed by the Government on the loan. Why, the Honourable Member asks should Government have borrowed the money when they did know that immediate use of it was not forthcoming. These are suppositions and suppositions only. It is not good going in for undertakings which require fluid cash which you may be called upon to make use of at any moment without the backing of ready cash. When the time comes for payment if you run about for huge sums, I know, the Honourable Member himself will realise what the difficulties of the Government will be to raise funds which is necessary for payment.

Mr. T. K. Nayar.—Not at all convincing.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Then there is the question of constitutional Government. I was really amused to hear the Honourable Member of Irinjalakkuda saying that the Council has not established its claim for further constitutional Government. I can only characterise it has the pleading of the devils advocate and I am sure that most of you are familiar with it, though not directly. I understand that there is a ceremony

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

known as the canonisation of saints in the Roman church and such periods a devils advocate is heard just to ascertain whether there is any body to say anything about the person who is about to be canonised. Of course only proper persons would be nominated. But to hear the other side as it were as a general maxim of equity a devils advocate is heard, of course heard with the natural result that no attention is paid to it. Similarly I also request the Government not to pay any heed to the pessimistic views of these persons. I do not blame them. Such views are ingrained in them and it is difficult to get rid of them. Now to make general statement, I am sorry I did not bring that notebook which contains certificates of many persons including the Presidents of this Council who repeatedly said that we have proved our worth for more with the qualification that we have to wait. Of course you all remember that on one occasion the Council has been characterised as an infant institution. Though it was a slip of the tongue it was corrected immediately and the meaning that was attributed to it was neither sound nor satisfactory. I have no quarrel, I would strongly appeal to the Government to see whether something which will satisfy the people of their craving may not be done without prejudice to the interests of Government. In fact there can be no conflict of interest because the people and the Government are working towards the same goal. I feel bound to say one word more with regard to the very staunch fight put in by our Diwan in the cause of Cochin in connection with the Harbour. Of course I do not know any of the details nor do you know many, but I have one information in my hand which is credible because it comes from a co-worker in that cause and he was actually telling me these words which I shall quote here: "I say, we are afraid of your Diwan". So staunch is the fight made by him that persons who are interested in the matter and who are participating in the movement feel more anxious of our representation which certainly is a source of exceedingly great gratification to the whole country and people at large. With these words I conclude.

The House rose for launch at 2 p. m. and met again with the Diwan President at 3 p. m.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—Mr. President, Sir, it has fallen to me this year to open the discussion on the Budget on this side of the House. This, Sir, is the first Budget Session in which I have been privileged to take part and I trust the Hon'ble Members opposite will excuse me if I begin my speech by congratulating them on the high order of excellence displayed by their speeches yesterday and this afternoon and the wealth of useful ideas and constructive suggestions enshrined in them. I have been here in this House now for some time and it has

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

been my belief, bred of intimate experience, that the division of the Members of this House into official and non-official does not emphasise anything more than the difference in their pursuits and occupations and that there never has been any disparity of difference in administrative ideas and ideals, and the speeches which I heard yesterday and to-day from representatives of the people selected for statesmanlike duty have confirmed me in my belief that our essential agreements are more significant than our disagreements.

I will pass on to deal with some of the main points that have been brought to a focus in the discussion here yesterday and to-day. The process of singling out points for individual treatment any one suggestion or criticism from out of a crowd of suggestions, is more difficult than I ever imagined, but there is problem which easily stands out from the rest and overtops, if I may say so, all others in point of importance and seriousness and that is the great question of the nature of the steps that have to be taken to protect the people of this State from the dreadful effects of the economic blizzard that is raging throughout the world. It is unnecessary for me to reiterate the various ameliorative measures which have been so far taken by the Government to relieve the economic distress all over the State. They are all set out with accuracy and precision in the Finance Member's statement which are as well known to you on the other side as to us on this side of the House. But if you will permit me, I shall summarise all these measures. Considerable reductions in the land tax payable by ryots, supplemented by generous remissions of land revenue under the ordinary rules, generous concessions to those who subsist by fisheries in this State, the creation of a fund set apart for advancing loans on easy terms to the hard-pressed among the agriculturists of the State, and repayable in easy instalments, the instructions given to the subordinate judiciary by the highest Court of this land for a more liberal working of the Provisions of Civil Procedure Code in the way of regulating sales of properties and arrests of the persons of debtors and attempts to keep down high rates of interest by legislation and liberal concession in commutation rates of dues payable to Government, all these palliatives constitute, I make bold to say, a record which speaks for itself. It will thus, I hope, be recognised that the Government have been making continuous efforts to relieve agrarian distress in the State and if no outright solution of the difficulty has been possible, it is, as the Hon'ble Members know perfectly well, because of the difficulty of finding out what exactly the depression is due to. The depression has ceased now to be regarded as a mere passing phase and has come to be more and more generally

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

recognised as a deep-seated malady, the causes of which do not lie on the surface. The problem is beset with intricacies and difficulties on every side. A note of warning has been struck by leading economists all over the world against the adoption of too drastic measures, so far insufficiently tested, which may later prove to be a mistake. The great task of successfully combating the problem has been made a matter of the most careful investigation by the leading Governments of the world and it is now admitted on all hands that the problem is not one, which is susceptible of either rapid or dramatic solution. The great task of outlining a general scheme which would satisfy the general requirement of the situation and meet with the approval of the people must surely be made to rest not upon illusory and hypothetical supposition but upon the sure and dependable anchorage of reliable and accurate data as to the extent and nature of rural indebtedness gathered after a careful and thorough scientific enquiry and investigation. Economic survey to whose work Mr. Devadhar paid an eloquent tribute yesterday at an informal meeting we had, would soon finish its task. The Economic Depession Relief Measures Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government to investigate certain aspects of this question has finished its task and submited a report in record time,and the report contains several useful and constructive recommendation. On behalf of the Goverament, I may assure this House, that all this material would receive its most careful consideration and Government feel sanguine that some line of action may be agreed upon, which will commend itself to all concerned.

Allow me to pass on to the question of adult or manhood franchise as it is sometimes called, to which the Hon'ble Member for South Ezhuvas made pointed reference yesterday. Surely it cannot be denied that there have heen notable improvements effected by the Government by way of extension to the electoral franchise' with regard to representation to this House. It has in the main accepted the recommendation of the Franchise Committee. That Committee went carefully into the question of Adult Franchise and pronounced a definite opinion against the adoption of the principle, that representation should be based upon population and not upon defined political qualifications. Government feel that nothing more is immediately necessary in the way of further extension to ensure proper representation and to see that proper weight is assigned to the leading interest of the country in the balanced machine, that this Hon'ble House.

Now I pass on to another matter with which I am more intimately connected, i. e. the Department of Ayurveda. Government have been taunted more than once with treating this

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Department like the Cinderella of the Fairy tale. I take it Sir, that all that criticism is only meant to emphasise the point that more attention could be given to that department. Government have no intention whatever to belittle the importance of this important branch of medical relief. It recognises with the Hon'ble members the utility of this branch of medical relief. All that the Government desire to point out, is that it is not quite correct to charge the Government with niggardliness in making provisions in the budget for expenditure on this account. The Department is a new one and everything that can be done to encourage it, consistent with the obligations of the Government in other directions, is being done. Let me just refer to a few improvements which it is proposed to be made in the working of this institution next year. Provision has been made in the budget for one more physician to be in charge of the preparation of the medicines and arrangements are being made to secure for the institution a larger measure of utility by supplying medicines to the Panchayat Vydyasalas of the State, whose existence seem to have been forgotten when the Government is charged with being unmindful of their obligations to Ayurveda. Provisions have further been made for a paid physician to attend to eye diseases and to take on snake bite cases sent along to the Hospital, by that Prince among benefactors to man-kind, His Highness Kochunni Thampuran. Further inroads into correct finances must surely dislocate the whole scheme of Government finances.

Now I crave the indulgence of the House to refer to a few criticisms which were levelled against the department which I have the honour to represent and I hope to be excused if I make a passing reference to the charge of lethargy levelled against my department by the Hon'ble Member for Trichur. The charge cannot anything but be personal for two reasons, because I remember it was not long ago he paid a well-merited compliment to my immediate predecessor-in-office. For another reason, you may remember that when the same question was discussed here, viz., the disbursement of this 5 lakhs of rupees as loan, the Hon'ble Member for Trichur wanted that loan to be disbursed by the Revenue Department. That was in Meenam. I got into office in Kanni. It was still there in Meenam. He requested then that the loan should be disbursed by the Revenue Department, on which he had ample confidence then. We are forced, therefore, to come to the irresistible conclusion that the lethargy crept into the department somewhere between Meenam and Karkadagam. I am perfectly willing to leave to the judgment of this House the question whether lethargy can creep into any department within this small period of 4 months. But I would record my humble protest on behalf of the department,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

i.e., the rest of the staff, which have also been charged along with me in that sweeping charge of lethargy. A word of explanation is necessary here, because my department as a whole has nothing to do with the disbursement of these 5 lakhs, as the Hon'ble Member supposes it. There is a special staff in charge of it and if at all any lethargy has crept in because of the revenue department the blame rests entirely upon me. I am not going to attribute motives to the Hon'ble Member for Trichur. I know him very well, we have been friends for a long time, we have followed the same profession and I will not be right if I say he is actuated by motives. His attacks are always motiveless. But one thing I may be permitted to say, that, having heard the manner in which he has handled the head of the Panchayat Department, I fear his praises more than his rebukes.

I request the indulgence of the House to place a few points before the House with respect to the loan referred to. I find in even well-meaning quarters, there exists some misapprehension that the disbursement of the loan could be better expedited. I must place before the House a few facts concerning what is happening in the matter of the disbursement of the loan. Hon'ble Members will excuse me if I mention a few figures and dates. The establishment came into existence on 10th Kumbham 1109. Applications were allowed to come in till 15th Medam 1109. Within this space of time, before all applications were received, we cannot obviously disburse the amount. The applications received so far number 2,605. From 15th Medam 1109, we are now in 18th Karkadagam 1109, that is to say, hardly a period of 3 months. The various processes involved may be summarised as follows. First of all there is the verification of the applications with the revenue records. Then comes the inspection and valuation of property. Then there is the scrutiny of the title deeds and lastly there is the enquiry into the other means of repayment of the persons on the spot and the hearing of objections, if any. More than 400 or 500 applications have been preliminarly surveyed within this short space of 3 months. I only ask the House to wait for 8 months more that is till Kumbham before I begin the actual disbursement. In all I ask for only 11 months. Is it I ask in all humility a very large time to ask for in disposing of applications to the extent of 49 lakhs? Surely those Hon'ble Members who are familiar with the execution of commission orders and the lawyers who have had to do the work of local investigation and the work of scrutiny of the title deeds, will bear with me when I say that this is a very difficult and responsible work. The question is whether you have to get speed at the expense of accuracy and at the expense of detriment to public revenues. Or whether you should have speed

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

consistent with safety. If you observe both these principles, the House will certainly admit that the 11 months' time asked for is by no means too great. I have nothing further to add.

One other matter specially connected with my department was dwelt by the Hon'ble Member for Adur. That is the occasional double crop charges. He contends that it is an iniquitous impost. This complaint at any rate is not occasional. It is a permanent feature with him. Government have on more than one occasion explained their position. I have personally never been able to understand where the iniquity lies. The system now in vogue is this. In all lands where there are two crops raised, if they are permanently cultivated, the Government gives them the liberty to have them compounded as second crop. For this the Government assessment is only 1/4 of the normal rate. But for occasional double crops, the Government ask the ryots to pay half. Either you get it registered as double crop or you pay us half. The Hon'ble Member's complaint was that this has become an annual feature and that it has become very intensive this year. I lay the blame on him because last time in the Council he said that this leads to much corruption. I took it to heart seriously and have left orders to systamatise the whole thing so that there may be no fraud committed by the village officers. I have ordered a field to field inspection, first by the village officers, then by the Revenue Inspector, a certain portion by the Tahsildar and a fair proportion by the Diwan Peishkar himself. During my last jamabandy inspection, I made it a point to insist on accuracy of figures with regard to Account No. 4. The Hon'ble Member now says that it is being worked with a vengeance. There the cat is out. It is not a case of catching people who are occasionally having double crops. It is a case of leaving them out. A field to field inspection may have the effect of making them come in. If the land is registered as a permanent compounded double crop land, you have only to pay 1/4 of the first assessment. There is ample justification for levying the same or even a little more higher rate on double crop lands, the more so when it is admitted that the lands have become regular second crop raising lands.

The Hon'ble Member for Chittur referred to the unnecessarily large number of village officers now in service. This point was referred to by him during the budget discussion of 1931 also and my predecessor-in-office then gave a very elaborate reply to that complaint. I do not think I have to add much more. But I may point ont to the House one thing. How is it possible to have the village administration carried on without at least a village parvathiakaran. If the suggestion is that there

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

should be villages without village parvathiakarans, I submit it is not possible at all. There is only one Parvathiakaran now for each village. If you go through the Village Manual as well as the Land Revenue Manual you will find that if he minds to do his work properly he has got to do more than one man can hope to do in the normal discharge of his duties.

Then with regard to the kanom or forest exclusions, I have only to refer the Hon'ble Member to the speech made by Rao Bahadur Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar in his budget speech of the year 1931, pages 192—194.

The Hon'ble Member for Chittur religiously brings forward at every discussion the above point. Government have endeavoured as much as they can to convince the House that the 50 rupees per acre for lands with irrigation facilities prescribed for land in Chittur is by no means unfair when compared with the 20 rupees rate which you find elsewhere for lands without any such facilities. The irrigation facilities exist all over Chittur and the 50 rupees rate prescribed is on account of its exceptional qualities. The normal rate is 20 rupees per acre, but it is liable under the rules to increase up to 100 rupees with due regard to the means of transport and irrigation facilities.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—But these lands do not benefit by the irrigation, because water is at a low level.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—Water will certainly always finds its level. It is hoped that the persons who purchase these lands would reclaim them and enable the water to find its level. That is the idea behind the Kanom Exclusions. I do not think I need hardly refer to any other points except one or two, that is the inadequacy of the provision made this year in the shape of remissions of land revenue, viz., 12 1/2 per cent. Government have made it clear even last year that they would be unable to give the same rate of remission this year unless of course at the expense of other departments of public utility. These works were put off last year and have been taken in hand this year. No doubt the same reduction as was given last year might have been given this year also if we had ignored the considerations of other nation-building activities or other departments of public utility.

With respect to industrialisation a powerful plea was put forward by the Hon'ble Member for Nemmara. That is a very large subject and I am sure the plea for an ambitious programme in that direction provides much food for thought on the part of the Government and has to be very carefully considered. It is a problem which will be very carefully considered and all possible avenues will be explored for development before definite

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

proposals are formulated on the question. A plea for an endeavour to find out fresh markets for our produce has been put forward by Mr. Varkey as a solution for the economic distress. Even though it may not fall as an "Open Sesame" for all our difficulties which have to be overcome, I may assure the House that it is engaging the attention of the Government, in a very pronounced manner.

Another plea made is with respect to another branch of my department, that is, fisheries and the inadvisability of leaving the same to the unimaginative revenue clerks. The only point I have to take is that it is not left to them. The difference between us is a difference of fact. The Revenue Fishery Inspector although he is classed as an Inspector, is an expert in his own line and his immediate superiors are the Tahsildar and the Diwan Peishkar. Apart from that, ways and means of extending the activities of this department have been considered by the Government. A report was called for from the officer concerned. He has been allowed to go and visit centres of fish-curing at Calicut and Thanur and after he gathers the necessary material he will be asked to submit the cost report for the installation of a Fish-Curing Yard here. The further expansion of that department will be considered after his report has been received by the Government after his visit to Thanur and Calicut.

I am sure the other portions of the discussions will be taken up by the other members on this side of the House. Now I have only to thank the Hon'ble Members for the kind patience with which they have been pleased to listen to my speech.

Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon.—Sir, the Cochin Legislative Chuncil is now ten years old and it is interesting to note the difference in the subjects which came up for discussion then and which comes in for discussion now. In the first Council of 1100 were speeches reflecting the pent up feelings of the public of years of desire for participation in the Government. The public were made to believe, at least we thought so, that the Official block is normally opposed to the their interests. Everything we said, we felt, fell on deaf years. And when the non-officials spoke they simply murdered. I am glad to find that many of the terrors of those days are still with us but the view points of both the officials and non-officials have changed. Materially the Public Works Department was then criticised on all its activities. The Members for Talappilli and Mukundapuram Taluks were charging us with indifference to the subject of communications. We felt that there was a good deal of force in those arguments, but we did not want to admit it and so feebly replied that half of the Talappilli Taluk consisted of mountains

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

and forests and in Mukundapuram Taluk, the lands were all under double crop cultivation and would involve enormous expenditure for land acquisition. But we at once set to work on increasing the lengths of roads in those Taluks. As a result you see, the Mala-Adur Road, the Areepalam and the Echipara roads, the Chelur-Edakulam road, the Nellayi Road, the Chalakkudi Mala Road, in the Mukundapuram Taluk. Some more roads are programmed for next year. In the Talappilli Taluk works on the Chittanda-Thalassrei Road is almcst nearly completed and so also the Chelakara Elnad Road. I think we anticipated the people in the Cochin-Kanayannur Taluk in their most important need which was a road from Vypeen to Pallipuram About five miles of road have already been completed and we are alloting more money next year. When I went the other day to inspect this road and I was very glad to find an enormous growth in the number of bycyles in that locality. The entire length of the road not having been completed, cart traffic is impossible. I am convinced that this road is going to be one of the most useful roads in the State. We have not done much in the Chittur Taluk except the important road, the Nelliyampathy the only plantation area in the State. Of course, we did a few bridges there, like the Velanthavalam Bridge which has altered the old route to important places like Coimbatore, Nilgris, etc. to the benefit of Chittur. The Member for Chittur enticed me to put a ferry at a cheap cost across the Korayar river and took me by steps to construct a bridge across it which was opened only last year.

Then we had criticisms on the condition of our roads. I distinctly remember that nothing caused more stir in my mind and in those of the officers of my department than when the Member for Kunnamkulam described the condition of our roads as deplorable. A good deal of it was true then and we set ourselves to the task of improving them. I am sure you will agree with me that our roads have considerably improved since then in spite of the large increase in motor traffic in the interval. We feel we have cleared up all our arrears and, that we are in a position to take a step in advance. The widening work of the Shoranur-Ernakulam Road will, I am sure, be approved by the House. It might be also approved by this House, when I state that it is our intention to try as a matter of experiment, to tar-macadamise 2 miles of the Shoranur-Ernakulam Road. It is hoped that by treating the road with Tar the annual expenditure on maintenance will diminish considerably and that the condition of the roads will be such as to afford a better surface for travel.

The next cry was for irrigation. The Chittur irrigation system was according to them the most inefficient and unsatisfactory

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

We defended as well as we could but we new that the defects were there. Then we set about remedying matters. We found that the Mulathara canal, which was the most important of the group was also the most insufficient. The canal was badly graded, scouring and lines very ineffective and out of date and the regulators badly designed. We promptly took up the work of rectifying these defects and as a result you find my friend the Hon'ble Member from Chittur paying me the compliment in being silent on the question of the existing irrigation in Chittur. I noticed that he made mention of the extension of the systems by having a north canal by Mulathara and I have addressed Government recently on this question. The Member for Chittur touched on another subject and that was the construction of a road dam across the river in Chittur. This is a very useful work and I am sincerely sorry that funds could not be appropriated for this work. Anyhow I assure the Member that every effort will be made to expedite this work.

After Chittur the cry in those days was about the kole cultivation. Everyone on the non-official side was an expert on kole cultivation. Outside the Council waited deputations. Life was hard for us. The new Enamakal dam was then constructed at a cost of a lakh of rupees, its crest lowered subsequently and the old puncha lands were all converted into kuttadan. Situation was then well in hand and apart from a few idealists, no practical farmer complains now.

Then the Karuvannur floods. In those days, I used to consider the Parapukara people as my natural enemies. The speeches on this subject were scathing and as in a fight in Ireland, all joined. We again falsely defended our position by stating that the damages are far and few between and that immediate relief was not wanted. In the meantime, I set my staff to work in devising means to combat these floods. Schemes were proposed, they were examined by independent Engineers and a final decision arrived at. Work is in progress. We at least know, the extent of floods, their cause and their sure remedies. We are out of the woods. We have also learned to anticipate complaints and so we did many improvement works on irrigation before they ever got a chance to be represented in the Council.

In the Mechanical Department, water works form the most important item of public utility. The Ernakulam and Mattancheri installations were maintained satisfactorily and improvements are being affected in them. The Chellanam water supply has been nearly completed and water is now being distributed up to Andikadavu. We hope to complete it by next year. Nemmara and Aylur supplies were satisfactorily maintained and a new water works distribution was started in Thiruvilwamala.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

A system of water supply in Chittur is under consideration.

It is our intention to electrify the towns of Trichur and Ernakulam next year. These will be Government installations and are expected to be financially successful from the beginning. The importance of this however lies in the fact that these will tend to create the electrical load in these towns by the time it becomes possible for us to switch on our own hydro-electric power. You know the cost of a hydro-electric station and transmission lines will be about 68·5 lakhs and even one year of time taken for development of the load would mean to us a loss of about 3 lakhs of rupees on interest charges alone not to speak of establishment and maintenance. If by the time this power becomes available you have a ready market in the towns, the economy which will result therefrom is obvious.

Then in the Council of ten years ago, the management of Potteries was a delightful subject of discussion for the non-official members. Now it is under the management of an expert and from what I have seen of him, I confidently hope he will make it a success.

Now Sir, I have endeavoured to compare the situations in regard to P. W. D. ten years ago and now and to show how we have in these years solved all the difficulties then confronting the people. You will also see, Sir, that we have risen to the occasion on every count. In paying tribute to the members of this House, I say that all these efforts were made possible by the vigilance of the non-official members of this House; in representing the true nature of the affairs in the constituencies they represent and thus doing the noble work which they had been elected to do.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.— Sir, on behalf of the Government and on my own humble behalf, I thank the Hon'ble members of this House for the weighty and well-considered suggestions that we have received from them to-day and yesterday. I do not intend to touch upon many of the comparatively unimportant points which it may be more useful to deal with when we take the departmental budgets. At this juncture I will touch only a few of the major issues that have been mentioned in this House. Economic depression is a phenomenon which has been harrassing the Government both in its relation to the people at large and in its relation to its own treasury funds. But for the economic depression, I am sure the Government would have been in a much stronger position to provide for many more of the useful works that we have in hand and for which we have ready prepared schemes. It was this depression that has constrained us at the last

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

moment to delete many of the important and useful works from the Department of Public Works Budget. With all that the balance that we have got is only about 25 thousand rupees—a small amount just to entitle us to the consolation that we have got after all a surplus budget. The revised estimate is heavily in deficit and though we have a fairly large treasury surplus in hand it is not at all consoling to be faced with deficit budgets, and therefore, I may assure the House that it was due to circumstances beyond our control that we had to delete many of the useful items of works.

So far as the economic depression affects the people the Government have tackled it as well as they could. The Cochin Durbar I may proudly assert was the first to enter the field boldly and make constructive proposals to tackle the problem. We were the first to appoint an important committee to go into the economic depression question and suggest ways and means. That committee consisted of many of the ablest lawyers of the land and they have considered the problem from all its aspects. The Committee visited not one centre but several centres throughout the length and breadth of the State starting from Ernakulam and ending with Chittur. We went also as far as Kunnamkulam on the north and west we visited the coastal centres of Narakal and Cranganur and we amassed a very large amount of valuable evidence. The committee has given its consideration to every aspect and difference of opinion and I should think when the report is published the public will feel that they have a report which is fair and valuable. This Durbar was the first to tackle this problem seriously and that is one of the most important things that the Durbar has done to tackle the economic depression. The other expedients used for the purpose have been of course the land revenue remission and a few other similar measures.

Well Sir, passing out of this economic depression question I will touch a few other important items. The question of the Land Mortgage Bank is, I should say, intimately connected with the economic depression, though the economic depression is a passing feature and the land mortgage bank, if started is to stand an enduring institution. The two have a vital mutual bearing and so far as rural indebtedness is concerned. The Committee appointed to consider this question has reported on the matter and that report is being very earnestly considered by the Government. The report was received by the Durbar only about a fortnight or three weeks back and they had not the time to pass final orders. They hope to finish the work soon. So the land mortgage bank and thereby the question of granting

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

greater relief to the ryots by increasing the loan of five lakhs—that has already been granted—will receive the most adequate attention at the hands of the Government.

Then again though we are not able to come into any agreement with the Madras Government regarding the supply of power from Pycara the question of electrification and the question of providing cheap power for industries has not been overlooked. Even in these hard times the Durbar has been able to provide a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs for the immediate electrification of the two towns of Trichur and Ernakulam. The Durbar sincerely hopes that within a few years they will be able to set up a clear demand for cheap power and they will be able to take the question of the hydro-electric in right earnest.

Coming to the next important subject of Industries I may assure the House that we are sending one of our officers in Cochin to study the cocoanut industry and the manfacture of coir in Travancore and the Government hope that with his aid and with the aid of one or two people he will be able to secure from there it will be possible to rejuvenate that industry and put it on a more profitable footing?

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—On a point of information, Sir. May I know what this officer is going to study about the cocoanut industry than we know at present?

Rama Varmha Tampuran—In the Travancore State they are making better yarn in Anjengo, Parur, etc.

Then another point that was raised was with regard to railways and railway audit. Doubts were entertained by the Hon'ble Members on the other side that there we have not an adequate machinery to control or audit the expenditure on railways. That is quite an unfounded suspicion. Though we have not got an officer of our own on the railways that need not in the least give rise to any room for doubt regarding the audit. Under the agreement of the S. I. R. with the Railway Board the Government of India have got a special auditor who is checking the entire S. I. R. and also our own line. He stands in relation to the railway accounts more or less in the same position that the Auditor-General stands with the departmental accounts of the Government of India. He is an independent officer solely responsible to the Government of India and he checks these accounts in every detail. Therefore there need not be any suspicion though we have not got an officer of our own to check the railway accounts, the accounts go unchecked.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—Are the Government aware that there was a difference of Rs. 50,000 in the accounts of the Travancore Government with the Railway Company and it was rectified on the initiative of that Government?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—I have no information on that point. But I may assure you that correspondence is going on in this State also between the Darbar and the Company with regard to the allocation of funds and the making of estimates, etc., and we too win on all reasonable points.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—On a point of information. Do we get the reports of the Government of India auditor?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—No report is being prepared. It is only an audit of the accounts. They do not send us any report. Objections are raised wherever the company has gone wrongand all these are satisfied and the accounts are settled. There would be no reports about it. The Government Examiner of Railway accounts is responsible to the Government of India. What I mean is, that there is an independent third party who is checking the accounts of the company and of this line. Andbeing an independent officer he will raise all reasonable points of doubt, clear them and set right the accounts.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—How do we know that he has raised some pointsat all?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Because that is his duty. Estimates are at first prepared by the company and sent to Government for scrutiny; If there are mistakes he points them out and they are corrected. If there are mistakes it is his duty to find out these mistakes. He is an impartial officer appointed by the Government of India and he is responsible to that Government.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—He is not responsible to us. How do we know that there are no mistakes in the accounts?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—If there are mistakes it is his department's duty to find them out. Since there is already an independent officer to check the railway accounts and since he is in noway connected directly with the S. I. R. there is no reason to doubt that things are going wrong. Sometimes references are also made to the Railway Board and their decisions have been finally taken.

Mr. Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan.—Are not the accounts of the S. I. R. adjusted by private agencies.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—If the classifications are wrong, if the estimates have been wrongly prepared it is the duty of the audit officer to find out the mistakes.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Has the Darbar any control over the amounts spent over the railway?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—We have absolute control over the funds.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Will you kindly enlighten us what control you exercise? There is a general belief that the Darbar's function is nothing.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—At present on the Shoranur Cochin Railway two kinds of works are progressing—(1) works on the open line which are minor works, (2) major class of works which are necessary for the conversion. With regard to each of these things we get duly estimates from them. The original estimates, the amended estimates and the detailed estimates come to us. We check those estimates with their standard schedule rates. The difficulty always arises in the question of classification. There is what is called the Revenue Account and the Capital Account under which amounts are spent. If the amount is spent under capital account it will bear interest but in the case of the revenue account the amount should be written off. When things of that kind come up we always address the S. I. R. and after correspondence we come to a settlement or we refer to outside bodies and get it settled. With regard to the estimates themselves often we have raised objections and got the estimates rectified. Again with regard to the rolling stock, i. e., engines,, bogies, carriages, etc., we are at perfect liberty to do anything with them as we like. We are in correspondence to know whether the S. I. R. or any other Body would take our old engines. We can choose the best offer that we like or utilise the materials for the use of the Tramway or the D. P. W. We can ourselves take the sleepers, girders, etc., there is absolutely no difficulty. Then the question is whether we can dispose them all for anything better than the price offered to us by other persons. We are enquiring into that and we will settle it on the best terms.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Is the Government in the habit of consulting the Chief Engineer about these estimates?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Yes. Estimates are sent to him for scrutiny.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—Have you any control over the contracts for the supply of sleepers.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—We are at absolute liberty to supply sleepers. The works are done by the S. I. R. through an outside agency. It is their duty to see that the works are properly done. We can supply the sleepers, we can take up the earth work or any other work. A lot of sleepers are supplied by the Forest Department. The only thing is that we could not supply the whole quantity necessary. There is no question of tendering and accepting. This is not a concern whose profits are shared by the S. I. R. We have to bear the profit and the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

oss of this railway. If we are to take tenders at higher rates, the capital cost will go higher.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Some time back the weekly earning of this line were published.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—We receive weekly earnings even now.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—They used to be published in the Gazette. Why is it that they have stopped that.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—I do not know whether these were published in the Gazette. This is the first time that a request is made to publish it in the Gazette. I do not know whether now I have convinced the Hon'ble Members in the question of Ry. Audit. But I have tried to explain the point as well as I could.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—Is there any foundation for the rumour that the S. I. R. has offered us Rs. 50 for an engine and subsequently they informed the Durbar that it was a mistake for Rs. 500?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—There is no foundation for that. We have got an offer for Rs. 3,000 from an outside firm. We are going to advertise and we will see whether we get better offers. These are very old engines some 30 years old. I do not think there is much room for misapprehension on this point. This fact is absolutely sure.

Under the agreement with the S. I. R. it is not possible to have one of our men now to check the accounts.

Mr. T. K. Nayar.—Has not the Travancore Government got an officer of their own?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Travancore Government had once a Railway Engineer I know one Mr. Mereni. I do not know whether he is there now. I know the Mysore Government has got an auditor. That is done under a special treaty with the British Government of 1857 or 1860. We are also corresponding with the Government of India to have some such arrangement like that.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—I think the Mysore Government is running their own line.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—A part of the line is run by the Mysore Government and a part by the M. S. M.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—During the time of the railway conversion has there ever arisen any occasion for the Government to take objection to any of the suggestions of the Railway company?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Hundreds. Several of them have been carried out. And wherever they have not been carried out they have given very valid reasons against them.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Then one of the Hon'ble Members suggested that the railway conversion should not have been taken up till the 4th stage of the Harbour works was taken up. I could only say that it was absolutely impossible to defer the question because we had reached a stage—our line is rather very very old some 29 or 30 years having been constructed in 1901 when either we should renew the meter gauge or build a broad gauge and that was the reason why it has been taken up. It was impossible therefore to continue as things are to-day. The total profits on the line will increase when the broad gauge is opened. There will not be any break of bulk at Shoranur after the meter gauge is converted, and the broad gauge is run. Thereafter through carriages and through trains will run from Ernakulam to Madras. There will not be any of the inconveniences attendant in a break of bulk goods on the interim station. This will help to improve the trade.

Then I would like to refer to some other point that one of the Hon'ble Members referred to the question of the cement factory. Mr. K. G. Nayar referred to the possibilities of a cement factory in the eastern taluks of the State. The Government had made an elaborate enquiry into that subject only a couple of years ago. It was suggested by somebody from Pondicherri that a cement factory could be started in the Cochin State. And then we had our raw materials analysed by one of the leading chemists of India. He reported that as our natural supply is limited it is very doubtful whether a commercial concern could be run with the products that we had in hand. It may be possible to manufacture cement to some extent, but to run it on a commercial line it may not be possible. And that was why the question was dropped.

Then I touch another miscellaneous point namely the Devaswam Lands and the remission of Devaswam pattam. I may point out that there are two classes of Devaswam Lands under the incorporated and unincorporated Devaswams. Incorporated Devaswams are under the management of the Diwan Peishkar and he is responsible for the collection of rents, while the unincorporated Devaswams are under the Devaswam Commissioner. Well with regard to the incorporated lands, just as in the case of Sirkar lands the ryots have already got the $18\frac{3}{4}$ per cent reduction. To the unincorporated Devaswams that principle could not be applied. There are different classes of tenures, favoured and unfavoured. If the remission is applied to the present favoured tenures they will suffer adversely in comparison. I hope the Hon'ble Members catch the point. The two tenures will not get the same benefit. Therefore there would be a case of invidious distinction. Therefore, an indirect

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

benefit which will reach all classes of tenants was given: the commutation rate of paddy was reduced just to compensate the lack of remission. In the case of private Devaswams under the management of the Sirkar they have to take the sanction of the Government every year to fix the commutation rate of paddy. The commutation rate of paddy has been reduced from 8 as. to 7 as.

Mr. Paul Mampilli.—Is that the prevailing price?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—It may not be the prevailing price, but the Hon'ble Member must always bear in mind that the Devaswam tenure is almost equivalent to jenm tenure and therefore we should not compare these rates with the market prices. Anyhow the commutation rate has been distinctly reduced.

Mr. M.A. Chakko.—What about cocoanut gardens?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—In the case of cocoanut gardens tax is based on the money value. I do not know whether any reduction has been made.

Sir, I have covered in a way the few important points raised in the last two days. I will explain further in detail when the departmental budgets are moved.

Mr. I.N. Menon.—Mr. President, Sir, after the very elaborate replies that were given in the course of the discussion on the budget by my honourable colleagues it is quite unnecessary on my part to make a speech at all except with a view to explaining one or two points which have been raised on the department of education. The general discussion on the budget has shown that nothing is too wide for comprehension and nothing too abtruse for your attention and except with regard to the one or two things which have a very distant bearing on the department under my charge there is nothing to which I can either speak by way of explanation or reply. There is one general remark which I should like to make with regard to certain criticisms on the budget, criticisms about which a good number of the members took part. I mean to the want of responsiveness on the part of Government in the budget to the general economic condition of the country. I do not know whether the Hon'ble Members think that this is a prosperity budget, I can only tell them that so far as my department is concerned it does not reflect prosperity of any kind. It has been the practice of all Governments for the last three years to reduce expenditure as far as possible and that was why in many cases, Sir, I have had to come here for additional allotments. We have been reduced to the irreducible minimum consistent with the normal efficient working of the several departments, it is not right in the same breath to complain that the budget is

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

not responsive to the economic condition and at the same time to say that the budget is extravagant. But I may be permitted to pause for a moment on the general structure of the budgets as well as for the last two years we have what is called in the usual terminology outside the State security of service, what is called constituent service of the functions and the so-called nation building service which you might call the ministering functions of the State. I think any wise Government will have always to devote its first attention to the security of service, namely the primitive functions of the Government. There are certain functions without discharging which no Government is a Government. Every Government in the most extreme circumstances has to pay attention to find funds for these services. It is only after fulfilling this demand that funds should be liberated for the ministering functions of the Government. Sir, I find on an actual reference to the figures here that one of the so-called nation building services the so-called ministering departments of the Government have suffered very much although I must say as the Hon'ble the Finance Member has pointed out asking for more. The fault is not entirely mine or in that department. The complaint is that for the past 10 years education budget has increased 50 percent to what it is to-day. If the Hon'ble Members will consider the growth of the population during the last 10 years and also try to recollect the fact that it is the new additions to the population that has come to our schools. It is quite inevitable. Naturally the expenditure of the education department is bound to increase by leaps and bounds than in any other department of Government. Every check and every effort in the exercise of economy that Government can do has been done by the heads of several departments in trying to cut down the expenditure to the minimum. But I must say Sir that our ordinary every day wants have been met by the provisions in the estimates for the ensuing year. It is quite true that many of the reforms in the educational system of the State have been allowed to lie over, not merely for financial reasons, though it is not trivial. I am sure that it is not the traditional scarcity of funds with which we are beset. But the important fact that we have the report of the Survey Committee and the report of my own humbler self which preceded it for the consideration of Government. And until Government have passed orders on these reports it is not wise to launch about expenditure on education throwing good money after bad. So in the fitness of things further expenditure on education must wait until the Government are in a position to chalk out their programme of work. That is why I say so far as this department is concerned we are not starved. I am sure that the colleagues

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

of mine will be able to say the same thing with regard to their departments. You will find all the ministering functions of the State, the departments of Agricultural Local self Government, Panchayats, Co-operation, Education, Medical relief, Public Health, Uplift of the Depressed classes—in all these ministering departments there is an increase of expenditure as compared to this year's figures. Of course there is always the difficulty in an advanced State like ours to draw the line what is strictly security services and what is strictly nation building services. We have come to believe in the socialistic nature of all Governments. We must all feel what a man can do and what a Government should do. We have by the process of history and natural law and I believe in that dictum to draw the line as to what Government is bound to give as the minimum of its duties and what it should do to the ministering functions of its duties. It is very difficult to draw a line.

There are certain other points which had been touched and already replied by some of my Hon'ble colleagues on which I may say a word of explanation.

The first point I must refer to is another Cinderella like the Ayurvedic Hospital and that is the Industries department. Now there is a feeling that the Industries department is being neglected. The argument was if only we can start I am right in saying if only we can start State owned and State aided and new cottage industries started all our economic depression will vanish. The trouble is that the problem of State owned industry is a very tall proposition. It cannot stand secrutiny because it involves large outlay. The same thing with regard to State-aided industry and with regard to cottage industries a report was drawn up by Mr. C. Achyuta Menon years ago and he said that the conditions of our cottage industries are very unsatisfactory but he doubts whether a great deal can be done with regard to cottage industries with a few exceptions. So the first thing that is necessary is to collect data and then to find out the remedy which of course must be very near the data and with a view to collect the information an economic survey has already been started and is now in operation and will be concluded within the next 12 months. Our industries have not become defunct but they are only lacking and I am sure the Hon'ble Members will not say that the time is exaggerated.

Then the Hon'ble Member for Nemmara, unfortunately he is absent, said Cochin has got some mineral wealth. There has been some years ago a geological survey of the State which discloses how poor we are in minerals and mineral wealth and I still remember the Geologist who is responsible for the report. Somebody enquired of him whether he had written his report to

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

which he replied that it would be written in the train on his return when he was leaving the State. The enquirer asked him whether there was any mineral wealth in Cochin. He said it is all above the soil and nothing underneath. All further operations the Government had to drop. Unless we know where we stand with regard to cottage industries it will be very unwise to launch on schemes of very doubtful utility.

As for the other points I shall have my say when the cut motions are moved and, therefore, Sir, with your permission I will not take any more valuable time of this House.

The Hon'ble Member for Cranganur raised a point to which I would like to reply before I close. The Hon'ble Member for Cranganur said that this question of the issue of poverty certificates created unnecessary trouble. I quite agree there so much so that in my report I suggested that these certificates may be issued by the Protector of the Depressed Classes. I am sure we will not in this case be charged that we are discussing matters concerning him repeated by behind his back. There was a rule that the issue of poverty certificates should be by the revenue authorities. That is the oldest rule so far as I have been able to trace. Subsequently Government on the strength of the representations of the public allowed the issue of the poverty certificates by the Hon'ble Members of this Council, by the members of the Panchayats and other persons of respectability. This rule was in operation for some years. Then came complaints. Two brothers of the same parents were studying in two different schools in Trichur. Of course I am not putting a hypothetical proposition. This is a fact but I don't remember the names now. One was in receipt of this concession of half fee while the other was not. I found it was quite anomalous that the same parent should show this partiality. I ordered a searching enquiry into this incident and the enquiry disclosed that not only did the student deserve the concession but also that he was not even a subject of the Cochin State.

Then when I found this I wrote to the Inspecting Officers and wanted them to scrutinise and also ask the Headmasters to scrutinise before sending up the lists. As a result of enquiries it was soon proved that to a certain extent this privilege of issuing poverty certificates was being abused. I dare say there is always this likelihood of any individual, whether in service or out of service, abusing any privilege. I quite concede. But in the case of servants of Government, the Government have a good grip over them and if a privilege or function which is vested in them is abused they always run the risk of being brought to book whereas we cannot adopt, without great discourtesy, the same drastic method in dealing with an ordinary gentleman.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

That was why this privilege of issuing poverty certificates again reverted to the officers of the Revenue department. There is no question of any reduction of privilege. It is only a question of facilitating on his work and nothing else. If this is found to work great hardships than the old system, I think the Government have absolutely no objection to accepting the lesser of the two evils.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—On a point of information. I never referred to the grant of poverty certificates in my speech.

Mr. K. M. Seethi.—It was I, Sir, who made mention of of it; and I am the Member for Muslims and not for Cranganur.

Mr. I. N. Menon.—Sir, I am really sorry for the mistake and beg to be excused.

The another point adverted to is the question of the recent appointments in the College. Sir, I am a believer that, with or without the Public Service Commission, the unrepresented communities should be given representation and their proper place in the public service. I can boldly say that except with regard to reappointments where my hands are tied down by the Standing Orders, I have given invariably preference to the unrepresented communities. But I must, Sir, with your permission point out there is difference between ordinary public service of the Education department proper and the staff of the Maharajah's College. Of course this inconvenience is incidental to all State-owned Colleges; because you see there is always the tendency to treat even the establishment of the college as part of the Education department, a part of the Civil Service. The course is quite wrong. The college stands on quite a different footing, and the staff of the college should be recruited from the best men available irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

Mr. C. L. George.—Who says that?

Mr. I. N. Menon.—That is my humble opinion which I think will be corroborated by the Government. I am not saying that with regard to the public service which stands on a different footing. Here in respect of the college we have to select the best men available. Of course the University even went to the extent of saying that further recruitments should be made from among men with research experience. Taking all these conditions into consideration I can prove to any Hon'ble Member by actually placing the records in his hands that the appointments made by the Government are in the best interests of the institution. There was a reference to the budget that it was a jugglery of figures. But there is absolutely no jugglery in this part of the budget.

Mr. C. L. George.—Is the other part conceded?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. I. N. Menon.—It is a part of which I am ignorant.

Sir, I find that my main troubles are coming in the form of cut motions and I do not want to waste your time or the time of the House by giving arguments anticipating the troubles so that they may not come at all.

Mr. P. V. Subramania Ayyar.—Sir, I regret that by representing my budget I have given room for so much criticism which necessitated so much elaborate replies on the part of my colleagues. I have only to elucidate that what has been done by me is only a consolidation of the various proposals in regard to receipts and the expenditure proposed by the various departments subject to limitations. In doing so I have only to add that all receipts that could be expected under various heads have been fully estimated for in the budget; so much so there can be no accusation against the Government of having under-estimated our receipts under any of the heads. Then my duty is, as Hon'ble Members have often characterised my budget, to distribute our revenues to the various departments which are to be fed by the revenues. In doing so again, it will be observed that all the development departments have been given substantial increase in grants year after year and accordingly this year every head of the development department has been receiving enhanced grants. You will find Education, Medical, Public Health, Panchayats and Public Works receiving increased grants. Especially under Public Works it will be noticed that communications have been provided very amply in preference to buildings. Leaving apart the development departments you have to consider what has been provided under other heads for other departments. The allotments provided for other departments are only by way of expenditure required for their functioning. All over-head charges have been ruthlessly retrenched in the course of the last one or two years. The answer to one of the Council questions will show that the retrenchment effected under contingencies alone comes to a very substantial amount. All over-head charges, especially administrative charges, have been retrenched to the maximum. The complaint levelled against the services that it is top heavy, that the salaries are heavy and that the travelling allowance is abnormally large for heads of departments, all these it will be observed are not based on real facts. If at all, salary cut was to be introduced up to the extent of 25 per cent in respect of the pay of heads of departments I will not be far wrong in saying that what the Government would get by that means may come to only 19,000 rupees in a year. Again there is the oft-repeated complaint that the travelling allowance of heads of departments including, of course, the members of the Council, are too heavy. They have been

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

reduced from 6 rupees and 5 rupees to rupess 4—8—0 by way of daily allowance and if by previous calculation I would mention that if the rate of daily allowance be reduced by 8 annas more, than on the basis of the present actuals what the Government would get by way of savings under travelling allowonce will only be 1,900 rupees a year, presuming that our heads of departments travel 25 days in a month and draw daily allowance. Compared with the travelling allowance of the heads of departments we will ascertain the travelling allowance of the inferior servants for whom most of the Hon'ble Members have taken brief for raising their T. A. I would wish them to remember that while the T. A. rates were considerably reduced in the course of 1107, the Government have taken much care to see that the inferior servants are not in any way affected substantially. What is actually incurred by inferior servants is for their journeys by road and rail and of course their daily maintenance also. Often inferior servants travelling with the heads of departments are expected to be compensated by their chiefs, so that whatever they get byway of daily allowance would be a gain to them. What is specially required is only their locomotion charges. To cover such charges, we have amply provided for them by their being allowed to get their actual expenses either by road or rail. So the complaint that the 4 annas they get by way of daily allowance is insufficient is not well founded. To quote an instance, a peon accompanying a Magistrate will get Re. 1—4—0 per day for a journey from Trippunithura to Mulanthuruthi while the Magistrate would get only 14 annas or one rupee.

Mr. Paul Mampilli.— Has not the peon to spend the whole money so as to meet his expenses?

Mr. P.V. Subramania Ayyar.—As if the Magistrate does not?

Mr. Paul Mampilli.—That is another question.

Mr. P.V. Subramania Ayyar.—In regard to the various other points raised in the General discussion, I do not wish to mention them here, because they have been answered by my colleagues. There was a strong criticism against the expression "wait and see" used by me in my speech. I never meant anything more or less than asking to see what has been practically done by the Government and then imagine what they have done with considerable patience and come to a conclusion. This is all what I meant.

Government have done much by way of economic relief. To relieve agricultural indebtedness funds have been amply provided for by way of a loan to be given to them. In the Government Proceedings adumberating the loan it was specifically mentioned

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

that a Land Mortgage Bank will be attempted to be introduced by way of supplementing the loan, sooner than later. Then, in regard to economic relief, the committee's recommendation will be seriously considered. further, for removing agricultural indebtedness and unemployment, all industrial concerns, would be tapped. This can only accompany what has been done by the Government in connection with the Economic Survey. Industrial concerns can be started only after the result of the Economic Survey is known. It has also been adumberated that a Statistical Bureau would be opened which would give sufficient room for considering what all small industries could be taken up by the Government or with the aid of the Government or by private individuals and companies.

There was again the misunderstanding on the part of the Hon'ble Members as to the extent to which railway accounts are being checked and scrutinised by us. I will only supplement the observation made by the Secretary to the Diwan: by saying that we are receiving estimates for all expenditure that is incurred by way of capital charges by the State. All other expenditure will be met by the company and recouped by the company from the revenues of the railways. While we are concerned only with the questions on capital charges, we receive monthly accounts from the company in regard to the expenditure incurred by them. These monthly accounts are thoroughly scrutinised by us with reference to the estimates. At the end of the year the company also presents to us an annual account audited by the Government Examiner, Railway Accounts, to which an affidavit is attached that the accounts have been thoroughly scrutinised and audited by him. To the question often asked what measures have been adopted by the Government to see how the Railway accounts stand, I say that the above are the arrangements that have been made by the Government to see to the accuracy of the Railway accounts.

President's remarks on Budget discussions.

President.—Hon'ble Members of the Cochin Legislative Council,

With the permission of the House I should like to say a few words before we adjourn. I propose to speak as Diwan and not as the President. The Government Members have already explained in detail many, I may say, all the points which have been raised by the Hon'ble non-official Members of the House during the debate on the budget as a whole. I do not want to supplement what they have said by going into details. I propose to confine my remarks to two main facts which have necessarily engaged our attention in framing next year's budget. I mean first the economic depression and secondly the question of the harbour and the railway.

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